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KABIR AND THE BHAGTI MOVEMENT

VOL. I

KABIR—HIS BIOGRAPHY

BY

MOHAN SINGH

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THE UNIVERSITY OF THE PANJAB
ORIENTAL COLLEGE, LAHORE

The study of religious books in the light of historical criticism has shown that statements found in them may be such that they can be more satisfactorily accounted for by the exigencies, changes or demands of religious thought than by the supposition of the actual occurrence of the incidents in the statements.

Dr. N. N. Law, *Studies in Indian History and Culture*.

Pandit, Hero, Chhatarpati Raja, no other is equal to the Bhagat.

Ravidas (A. G., p. 195).

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TO
DR. T. GRAHAME BAILEY

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at the University Tutorial Press,

PREFACE

In the course of my researches into modern Urdu poetry and the history of Panjabi literature, during the last decade, I had had my attention focussed amongst others on the three problems of the rise and development of Hindavi, of the nature and differentia of the Bhagti Movement, and of the influence of Mediæval saints on all subsequent Indian vernacular poetry. In the books I studied for aid to the solution of those problems I came across many incorrect or ridiculous statements like : “ The Adi Granth is almost entirely in Hindi ; Khusro was the father of Urdu Poetry ; Kabir was the father of Hindi Poetry ; Chand * wrote his Raisa contemporaneously with Prithvi Raj ; Nanak was a disciple of Kabir ; the manuscript  Ka of Kabir with Mr. S. S. Das was made out in 1504 A. D. ; the whole of the Bijak is by Kabir ; Dharam Das was a contemporary of Kabir ; Namdev came after Kabir and was, also, a disciple of Ramanand ; Guru Angad was the fifth Guru of the Sikhs ; Japuji is an unknown Panjabi author ; Sukhmani was composed by Nanak ; Guru Arjan wrote the Shabads himself and palmed them off upon the public as those of the Bhagats ; the Janam Sakhi of Nanak forms a part of the Adi Granth ; the only mention of Kabir in Mussalman historians is by Mohsin Fani of Kashmir ; Arjan was the sixth Guru of the Sikhs.” As one who knew something of Panjabi, both Western and Eastern, of Hindi, of Urdu, of Gujarati, of Persian, of Sikhism—both the internal and external sides of it, and as one who had at his disposal a large number of unused manuscripts, I could not

* According to Mr. Mehta (*Life of Miranbai*, English) Jaidev is referred to by Chand. For Prithvi Raja Raisa and Chand further, see my *History of Panjabi Literature*, page 99.

bring myself to accept such assertions ; evidence definite and direct, and often dated, in my possession and within my knowledge, directed otherwise. I, therefore, decided to take up Kabir, a detailed study of whom would help me to lay before the public my conclusions practically on all the three points enumerated above.

Students of printed literature on Kabir available to-day may have noticed that without having first fixed upon any one or more manuscripts as sufficiently early and authentic and without having established their texts from different recensions, writers, favourable and adverse, on Kabir have proceeded to erect vast edifices of Kabir's mysticism, Kabir's poetic excellences and Kabir's immeasurable influence on all sects posterior to him. This attempt of the Kabirites, is, to say the least, most unscholarly, and one bound to be proved fruitless or wrong at any time by the discovery of really reliable material.

As I think I have gathered enough dated material for a brief survey, I have undertaken the task of publishing in three volumes a biography of Kabir, an appraisal of his language and his poetic graces, and a short comparative study of his esoteric teachings. The most important portion from the standpoint of research will be a Kabir glossary, a Namdev glossary and a Nanak glossary, a detailed account of Sadhism or Sant Mat or Guru Mat or Anand Jog or Nirban Jog or Atam Jog and its differentiation from the Bhagti cult proper, from Vaishnavism and Saivism, and its relation to later Buddhism.

In this first volume now being presented to the public, I have tried not to give any cut and dried thesis ; I have led available evidence and left to the reader himself to draw whatever conclusions he feels inclined to at the end. I hope I have shown that Kabir, a Muhammadan Julaha or weaver,

born at Kasi or in its vicinity,* lived an ordinary, uneventful life not far exceeding the normal three score during which he first lived as an householder and, later, as a retired saint, meeting many men of godliness, deriving instruction from them, and singing in the later part of his life his own brusque comments on persons and practices about him, and on his early beliefs and actions. A true child of the age, he imbibed what seemed to be the best and most appealing to him and gave to the world the best he could, without having been personally obliged to Ramanand or without having directly obliged Nanak and others. He gave that, further, in the traditional conventional way, in traditional, conventional language and metaphors and similes, and under conventional heads. A Muhammadan of character, independence, conviction; simple in habits, merciful to all, extremely hospitable; rather pugnacious, frank to a fault, assimilative; genuinely fond of retired, contemplative life, without any ambitions of Guruship, picked up and idolized by the Hero-worshipping and superstitious and tolerant Hindu and dropped by the intolerant Muslim, we bow to him for all these human virtues; but we refuse to accept him, what his Hindu worshippers have made him out to be, a fallen Brahman disciple of a Brahman Vaishnav, who through the grace of his Guru rose to be the greatest mystic of mediæval India, its grandest linguistic and poetic benefactor and original spiritual force, and its biggest Shavian critic of Hindu and Muslim religious thought and practice; we are quite happy to find him fully deserving to be one of a long line of great Hindu and Muslim personalities whom India has been throwing up since the Lord Buddha entered Nirvana, so that they may provide the spiritual manure and seed and humidity and sun to the needy spiritually-minded section of humanity.

* Vide *C. P. Gazetteer*, page 103

In sketching the historical Kabir, I have, in the pages to follow, criticized a few writers and books, particularly Shyam Sunder Das, of the Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Benares, and the Rev. F. E. Keay, author of "*Hindi Literature*", and "*Kabir and His Followers*". I owe it to them and to myself to state that I fully acknowledge their scholarship as well as their service to Hindi and the Bhagti cult. I must confess I have greatly profitted from the works of Dr. Keay and of (the late) Dr. Farquhar. A number of other statements found in Dr. Ishri Prasad, R. B. Hira Lal, Westcott, Rev. Ahmad Shah, the Misra Bandhus, Dr. Yusuf Hussain, will also be found contradicted in the subsequent volumes of this work but, as with the two gentlemen mentioned above, my criticism of them will not be a denial of their great learning. Genuine and bona-fide mistakes of fact and interpretation do creep in and our duty is no less and no more than to point them out in others and to be grateful for their being pointed out in us.

I shall consider myself sufficiently rewarded, if the readers in India and abroad accept my work as a genuine attempt to recreate and re-interpret Kabir along desirable lines of historical exactness and analytical and comparative, scientific study, and express their frank and full opinion of the success or failure of that attempt. The next two parts will follow late in the spring of 1937 ; they will contain respectively the Poetry of Kabir as emerging from authenticated, established texts of his and the Anand Yog or Surat Shabad Yog or Sant Mat or Sahaj Yog or Atam Yog of Kabir based on his poetry.

The urgency of the publication of a monograph like mine on Kabir has been brought home to me most acutely by the perusal of an article published during this very month (December 1933) in the *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, Deccan,



SARDAR SHER SINGH UBEROI
(Father of the Author)

on "The Influence of Islam on the Cult of Bhakti in Mediæval India" by Dr. Yusuf Hussain, D. Litt. (Paris), who devotes the major portion of his space to Kabir and who makes several incorrect statements about Kabir and Nanak and the Bhagti Cult. The sooner world attention is directed to available material the better for Oriental Religious and Literary Scholarship.

I must thank Dr. A. C. Woolner, Vice-Chancellor, the University of the Panjab, for having allowed me to work on the subject during the term and for permission to continue it till I have finally done with it. I have also to acknowledge the help I have received from Mr. Bala Sahae, Assistant, University Library, in the matter of consultation of different books. I am sincerely grateful to the publishers for undertaking the publication on a subject which is not immediately connected with college classes.

A word about my dear father, whose photo is included. His elder brother was known as a Bhagat, and he himself is popularly called a Vaishno. He is over eighty now and for the last thirty years I have seldom seen him without the great standard Bhagti works like the *Bhagvat*, the *Bhagat Mal*, the *Upanishads*, the *Yog Vashist* etc., in his ample leisure. He is a practiser of the Raj Yog and the Dhian Yog and without his constant help and guidance and inspiration I could never have acquired my deep attachment for Bhagti and some inkling into its psychology and evolution. May he be spared long to aid me in my humble work.

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9-8-34. }

MOHIAN SINGH

ABBREVIATIONS

- G., Gujarati ; H., Hindi ; M., Marathi ; P., Panjabi ;
Pr., Persian ; U., Urdu.
- A. A.—Ain-i-Akbari., Pr., Abul Fazl.
- A. A.—Akhbar-ul-Akhyar, Pr., Abdul Haq.
- A. G.—The Adi Granth, P., *Pp.* 1323, Lahore.
- A. S. B.—The Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- B. B. S.—Bhagat Bani Satik, P., Kaka Singh.
- B. M. D.—Bharat Mat Darpan, P., Ganesha Singh.
- B. V.—Banarasi Vilas, H.
- C. P. G.—The Central Provinces Gazetteer.
- D. G.—The Dasam Granth, P.
- E. H. V. S.—Early History of the Vaishnava Sect.
- E. R. E.—Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, Hastings.
- H. B. L. and L.—History of Bengali Language and Literature, D. C. Sen.
- H. H. P. S. V.—Hasta Likhita Hindi Pustakon ka Sam-
ksipta Vivarana, H., S. S. Das.
- H. I.—History of India, Elliott.
- H. P. L.—History of Panjabi Literature, Mohan Singh.
- H. R. P.—Hindi Religious Poetry, Ahmad Shah and Ormerod.
- H. U.—Hifz-ul-Ulum, Library, Lahore.
- I. A.—The Indian Antiquary.
- I. 1.—Indian Islam.
- J. B. O. R. S.—The Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society.
- J. R. A. S.—The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- J. S. L.—Jodhpur State Library.
- K. & F.—Kabir and His Followers, F. E. Keay.
- K. G.—Kabir Granthavali, H.
- K. G.—(*Pp.* 66 & 67) Kamrup (District) Gazetteer.
- K. T.—Khulasat-ut-Tavarikh, Pr., Sujan Rae.
- M. B. V.—Misra Bandhu Vinod, H.
- M. D.—Mohammadan Dynasties.

- M. M.—Monograph on Miranbai.
M. M.—Mysticism in Maharashtra, Ranade.
N. P. S.—The Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Benares.
O. R. L. I.—Outline of the Religious Literature of India,
Farquhar.
P. N. Q.—Punjab Notes and Queries.
P. P. L.—The Panjab Public Library.
P. T. S. A. I. O. C.—Proceedings and Transactions of the
Sixth All-India Oriental Conference.
P. U. L.—The Panjab University Library.
R. S. G.—Rewah State Gazetteer.
R. S. H. M.—Report on the Search for Hindi Manuscripts.
S. B.—Santavachanamrita, M., Ranade.
S. H. L.—Selections from Hindi Literature, H., Sita Ram.
S. R.—Sikh Religion, Macauliffe.
S. V. A.—Santavachanamrita, M., Ranade.
T. C. C. P.—The Tribes and Castes of the Central Pro-
vinces.
U. P.—The United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

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KABIR—HIS BIOGRAPHY

1. **The Eastern Biographers.** A biography is expected to contain some account of birth, childhood, ceremonies performed during childhood, illness, companions, marriage, profession, parental feelings, travels, intellectual and physical victories and defeats, persons and places associated with, utterances and literary compositions, and death. An Eastern biography, particularly of pre-modern times, is sure to involve and intertwine available history with some philosophy, a little folklore, much superstition and plenty of spurious stuff. For example. supernatural occurrences at birth and death, divined knowledge of previous and subsequent births, extraordinary, anachronistical meetings with long-dead saints and kings, faked prose and poetry, glorifying and deificatory events, genuine and deliberate errors in copying literary works, impossible travels and associations etc., without any heed for correctness of time and place and in justification of the avowed purpose of establishing greatness, coupled with much imaginative vision, literary skill and psychological efficiency are found interpolated with truth of fact, in almost all biographies. Great kings, great saints, sacred numbers, sacred doctrines, holy places and holy myths are used up in varying quantity. All possible allusions in the compositions of a great man and all possible historical associations are exploited by his followers as pegs round which to hang certificates annunciatory of the greatness of the departed

one or of those left behind, and demonstrative of other desirable ends. Such is the Eastern mind, to which psychological and spiritual truth and correctness is dearer than historical rightness and exactness. It is well to recognize all that, so as not to get provoked by frequent Eastern bungling and exaggeration.

2. Musalman or Hindu ? Was Kabir a Hindu or a Musalman ? Luckily we have convincing evidence and we need not infer one way or the other, like Keay (*Kabir and His Followers*) from Kabir's intimate knowledge of Hinduism revealed in his poetry. In the *Adi Granth* of the Sikhs compiled by Guru Arjan Dev, the fifth Guru,* indited by Bhai Gurdas, and completed in 1604, we have, on pages 1198-9, a *Shabad* by *Bhagat* Ravidas, the alleged Guru or spiritual preceptor of Miran Bai, the alleged co-disciple with Kabir of Gosain Ramanand, which definitely and finally gives us Kabir's nationality by birth :

“ In whose family on the occasions of Id and Baqrid, the cow is butchered ; (in whose family) Shaikh, Shahid and Pir are revered : whose father did like that, the son following him, he, Kabir, well-known in the three worlds.† ”

In the lines preceding these (*Rag Malar/2*), Ravidas has referred to Namdev and Bias. Another reference to Kabir and Namdev in Ravidas reads as follows :

My Gobind makes the low, high ; he is not afraid of any one ; Namdev, Kabir, Tilochan, Sadhna‡ and Sain have

* In the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 14th edition, Vol. 17, page 186, Guru Angad Dev is stated to have been the fifth Sikh Guru. This is incorrect.

† It may be stated, once for all, that whatever else the compiler of *Adi Granth* in 1604 may have done with *Bhagat Bani* by way of editing, he could not have tampered with the proper names mentioned in it.

‡ According to a *Shabad* on pages 452-453, A. G., Sadhna came after Sain and was inspired to *Bhagti* by his example.

swum (across) ; Ravidas* says, listen, O Sants, all *can* ensue from Hari Ji.—A. G., p. 1027.

This allusion by its nature and style makes it clear that Kabir had died before the birth of Ravidas or, at least, that Kabir was a much older man than Ravidas and had already become famous and died, as one who had swum across this Bhaujal or the ocean of Fear, when Ravidas wrote the lines. Here are all the references to Kabir by Ravidas, from the *Adi Granth*.

जाके ईदि बकरीद कुल गुऊरे बधु करहि
मानीअहि सेख सहीद पीरा
जाके बाप वैंसी करी पूत ऐसी सरी
तिहूरे लोक परसिध कबीरा

(A. G., pp. 1198-89.)

नीचहु ऊच करे मेरा गोविंदु काहू ते न डरै
नामदेव कबीर तिलोचन सधना सैनु तरै
कहि रविदास सुनहु रे संतहु
हरि जीउ ते सभै सरै

(A. G., p. 1027.)

हरि हरि हरि हरि हरि हरि हरे
हरि सिमरत गण निसतरि तरे
हरि के नाम कबीर उजागर
जनम जनम के काटे कागर
निमत नामदेउ दूधु पीआइआ
तउ जगे जनम संकट नहीं आइआ
जन रविदास राम रंगि राता
इउ गुर परसादि नरक नहीं जाता

(A. G., p. 452).

Now Kabir himself refers to Jaidev and Namdev as the two who had become the spiritually-awakened ones in our *Kali Yug*.

* M.B.V., Vol. I, page 96, gives 1446 as the date of the floruit of Ravidas.

(a) Through the instrumentality of the Guru, Jaidev and Nama, these have known (Him) by their love of Bhagti. (*Adi Granth*, page 1107.)

(b) Shankar has awakened through service of (His) feet ; (in) *Kali Yug* Nama and Jaidev have awakened.

(*Adi Granth*, p. 307.)

(c) Jaidev, Nama and the Brahman Sudama, to their share has fallen boundless kindness (of Yours) ; Kabir says, You are an all-powerful giver ; in giving (me) the four (desirable) things (or objects), (You will occasion) no delay. (*Rag Bilaval* 7, *Adi Granth*, p. 793.)

Such appreciatory references to Jaidev, Namdev and Gorakh are found in Kabir's *Granthavali* as well as in his *Bijak* (*vide pp.* 166 and 216, and 172).

We may add that Namdev refers to Tilochan as one directly addressed and, therefore, proved a contemporary. (*Adi Granth*, p. 902.)

Namdev says, listen, O Tilochan, (the mother) puts the baby in the swinging bed.

On page 1273, *Adi Granth*, there are two shaloks : No. 212 contains a question put to Namdev by Tilochan ; No. 213 is Namdev's reply to it. On pages 29-30 of the *R. S. H. M.* (1909-11) there are given extracts from a manuscript, containing the Parichaya (biographies) of Raidas, Kabir, Trilochan and Namdev, and said to have been composed in the 2nd half of the 15th century ; one of the extracts contains the lines :—

(In response to *Akash Bani* or Divine voice urging him to become a Baishno Bairagi, Kabir said :—)

“ Musalman is my *Jati* (caste) ; how can I put on *Mala* (the rosary) ? Again came the voice : Go and receive instruction from Ramanand.”

There is another similar manuscript, No. 133, comprising biographical pieces of Namdeva, Kabirdasa, Redasa, Seo Sampata Ji, Trilochan Ji, Angad Ji, Rakahaka Ji and Dhanna Bhagat, which is listed in the *R. S. H. M.* for 1904. It was composed by Ananta Das in 1588. I believe, contrary to the opinion of the compiler of *R. S. H. M.* for 1909-11, that the author of both is one and that the date of the work as given in the second manuscript is correct. It requires the distance of at least a century or so for true facts to get blurred and for fiction and myth and fabrication and faith to paint them anew. It is this distance which justifies this biographer's remarks about Raidas, the cobbler, that "there (at Benares) it was that Raidas took an *Avtara*. He was a Brahman in the previous birth, but as he did not give up eating meat, for this sin he was awarded a low birth." I little doubt that this author was one of those accessible to the Punjab as well as to the U. P., and may have formed at first or at second-hand the basis in part of Bhai Gurdas and Nabhaji. Several legends which Nabhaji gives under Namdev and Pipa etc., were later annexed to Kabir's biography by subsequent writers. I am of the opinion that Ananta Dasa's *Parichaya* formed the basis of the Panjabi *Parchis* in P. U. L. MS. No. 528, dated 1693. It may be pointed out that the ordering of Bhagats in the *Adi Granth* seems to be alphabetical:

Kabir, Namdev, Ravidas.

3. Place of Birth. As to his place of birth, the Benares Gazetteer says that Kabir was born at Belhara, a village in the district of Azamgarh.

At more than one place in the *Adi Granth*, Kabir mentions Kasi as his place of residence indirectly (p. 448):

"You are a Bahman; I am a Julaha of Kasi; (try to) understand my realization."

Ravidas in *Rag Malar/2* (*Adi Granth*, pp. 1198 and 1199) also refers to Kasi* as the place of residence of his own family members :

“The Dhedhs† of whose family are engaged in carrying the carcasses of animals in the vicinity of Benares.” (Also see *Rag Malar/1*.)

But in the *Adi Granth* page 899, we have the lines of Kabir :

“Depending on you I resided at Maghar ; you quenched the heat (thirst) of my body.

I first had a vision (Darshan) (of you) at Maghar and then did I settle here at Kasi.”

From this last and from the existence of the tradition about his death at Maghar and the construction and reconstruction of his tomb, I infer that Kabir was born at Maghar, rather than at Belhara or at Kasi.

4. Caste. The Julahas (the weavers) are a low caste (*vide* Basti, Benares, Gorakhpur, Jaunpur District Gazetteers, for a full account of the Julahas Shaikhs, Doms of Maghar and Kashi). Kabir refers to his hereditary profession (*Adi Granth*, p. 486) :

*This would seem to give the lie direct to the statement often made of Ravidas's having been born in Rajputana or in the Maharashtra and his having been the Guru of Mirabai, who is nowhere stated to have visited Benares. Neither in *Bijak* nor in *Anubhai* have I come across any reference to Ravidas by Kabir.

† George Grierson (*vide* J. R. A. S., 1920, pp. 157-159) mentions one Lal of Kashmir. She belonged to the Dhedh caste and seems to me to have been a *Shabadite*. She is said to have flourished in the 14th century, prior to Kabir.

The other words Kabir uses for his caste are Kori and Sud, *vide* A. G. 449 and 302. The Koris, together with Kanbis and Kharwas, all low-caste folk, were converted to Islam in Gujrat in the 12th century through Nur-ud-din or Nur Satagar who came to Gujrat in the reign of Siddha Raj (1094-1143) *Vide* p. 43, *Indian Islam*, Titus,

“ Kabir has given up all warp and woof work.
My intellect is mean and my *Jat* is *Julaha*.”

Obviously caste* division was there amongst the Muhama-dans also. Low class Hindu†, and Buddhist converts to Islam abounded in U. P. (particularly in Maghar area, with which is associated Ghazi Mian, a general of Sultan Mahmud), Bihar and Bengal; upon their conversion the high class Hindus and Muslims continued to look contemptuously on them, while the converts themselves never wholly gave up their low Hinduism and went on cherishing several of the Buddhistic Tantric practices and much of Hindu spiritual and mythical vocabulary.

*Titus in *Indian Islam* writes (p. 171): “There is a wide range of caste names found in the second division of Muslims, such as Julaha, Teli, Bhat, Jogi and the like. Most of them indicate occupation. Most of them are just the old Hindu caste or guild name carried over.”

We have yet to hear of Hindu Julahas in the U.P. It is significant that both at Maghar and at Benares, the Julahas are entered under Muslims and Chamars under Hindus. Ravidas, a chamar, clearly distinguishes between himself and Kabir, the Musalman weaver. *T. C. C. P.*, Vol. III., pp. 279-280: Julaha, Momin—a low Mohammadan caste of weavers. The Julahas claim Adam as the founder of their craft, inasmuch as when Satan made him realize his nakedness he taught the art of weaving to his sons. And they say their ancestors came from Arabia. The Julaha or Momin women observe no *purda*, and are said to be almost unique among Mohammadans in this respect. The Musalman weaver or Julaha, Sir G. Grierson writes, is the proverbial fool of Hindu stories and proverbs.

†Bhandarkar in his *Vaishnavism and Saivism* (p. 67) throws out a hint that Kabir may have been a Sudra, and as such his family could, while carrying on cow-killing and Pir-worship, still remain within the fold of Hinduism, but the very insistence of the Hindu biographers on a previous Hindu birth of his and the inclusion of Kabir in Muslim records like those of Abul Fazl and Abdul Haq, points to another direction. And then conversions of low-class Hindus, the erstwhile Buddhists, to Islam had long taken place at Maghar by the time of Akbar, which for years had been in charge of a Muslim garrison. An interesting parallel is provided by the account of *Hir* given in *Tirja Charittar* in the *Dasam Granth* page 847. She was before her birth, a dancing girl of Indar in Heaven, which she had to leave under a curse to take birth in a Turk family and to which she would return when duly liberated on earth by Indar who would have incarnated there as Ranjha. Ravidas (*Rag Bilaval* 2) refers to Sud (Sudras), Dom (Dums), Chandar (Chandals) and Malechh in *A. G.*, p. 795.

In fact their contact with Hinduism and Buddhism continued to be close and personal, and their knowledge of Islam did not exceed a bare acquaintance with the important orthodox Muslim terms and practices.

5. Parentage. Keay gives no definite reference; he just says (*p. 28, Kabir and His Followers*): "All Kabir-Panthis admit that Kabir was brought up in the house of Niru, the weaver, whose wife was named Nima." But we presume that he was drawing upon the writings of the later Kabir-Panthis. Manuscript No. 193, P. P. L., undated, contains the life accounts (Sakhis) of Hazrat Muhammad, Kabir and Ravidas. A printed biography of Kabir (Amritsar, Messrs. Chatar Singh Jiwan Singh, 1919, 2nd Edition), which is based more or less on a similar manuscript or another copy of the same manuscript as above and in which, in the publishers' preface, the manuscript used is stated to have belonged to the time of Guru Gobind Singh (1666-1708) and to have been prepared under the supervision of Bhai Hiranand Goravar, a Sikh of the Guru, gives 11th Vaisakh 1015 Sammat as the date of Kabir's birth. It gives Mukta and Murat as the names of Kabir's parents. It also mentions the existence of a real brother of Kabir's father, or a Kaka. I place no reliance on the MS. nor on the two printed Gurmukhi biographies of Kabir based on the MS. and can, therefore, enter nothing definite under parentage. A number of extra-*Adi-Granth* and extra-*Grantha-vali* shabads of Kabir are contained in the MS. as well as in its printed versions which make out Kabir to be a complete Vaishno and a greater person than Ramanand, who is said to have touched Kabir's feet.

6. Birth Myths. To the Eastern devotee, a great man must have a befitting present or at least a suitable, or one still greater, previous birth. The unending cycle of births was a familiar feature of Buddhistic and Pauranic mythology. In manuscript No. 193 *Ba.*, P. P. L., Kabir is said to have been a

Brahmchari Brahman in the previous birth of his; Raidas to have been a Khatri. Manuscript No. 133 (*vide, ante*, page 5) credits Ravidas with a previous Brahman birth. Elsewhere Nanak is said to have been Raja Janak, in a previous incarnation of his (*vide Dabistan*, pp. 166-169, and Kirat in the A. G., p. 1287). In *Tiria Charittar* a portion of the *Dasam Granth*, Ranjha, the popular lover in the Panjab Folklore, is said to be an incarnation of Raja Indar of the *Swarg* and Hir, an incarnation of Mainka, an *apsara* (dancing-girl) of Indar; Sassi is also said, in the same poetical work, to have been an incarnation of a heavenly being. These myths about Kabir's previous birth[†], about his appearance as a derelict babe, and about his name are purported to hide the ignominy of his low birth in a Muslim family. We shall simply ignore them as the ingenious products of the Hindu mind which could not brook the dissonance between Kabir's birth and surroundings, and his lofty spiritual attainment. *Sahib* put after him is a Persian honorific word. Namdev, and Kabir after him, calls God as his Thakur Sahib. (*Vide P. U. L. MS. 1960, folio 263/1.*)

7. Upbringing, Education, Sickness and Discipleship.

Those who would rely too much on poetry for details of life and would extract all sorts of informative bits from literary utterances, should be reminded of the fact that both in subject-matter and execution (diction, verse-forms and

*Kabir has also been described as an incarnation of Sukdev (*vide Pran Sangli*).

†The idea of a previous birth was probably suggested to Kabirolators by the following line of Kabir (*Rag Ramkali 4, A. G., p. 899*) or a similar line:

"In the previous birth I (was) your servant (devotee); now can I never be obliterated."

Another line is in *Rag Gauri, A. G., p. 303*:

"In the previous birth I was one without *Tap*."

A third basis must have been the lines in Kabir's *Shabad 13, Rag Gauri, A. G., p. 303*.

pattern) poetry has always run in well-worn grooves; it has very seldom departed considerably from tradition. Now the poetic tradition in the Indian vernaculars has included amongst others, the following subjects, kinds of poetry, and forms of versification :

Patti	The profession or occupation*
or Chautisi	The Guru
or Bavan Akhri	The woman-follower
or Si Harfi	The Love-mad poet
	The Love-sick poet
	The Parents and other relations
	Death, etc.

To name only a few others, Namdev, Ravidas, Nanak, Dadu, Shah Miranji, Ahmad, Prapanna, Bajida, all write alike under the heads given above, containing not what is fact or history, but what is conventionally and metaphorically true and idealistic. In the light of this the *Chautisi of Kabir*, his singing of himself as the love-sick, the love-mad man, of one of his parents, of his profession, of Satak (*Rag Gauri* 41), of Pitar (*Rag Gauri* 45), of Suchch (*Basant* 17), of *Ahinsa*, of the Guru, we take as traditional stuff sung in the traditional way; it may not imply the existence of any ordinary or extra-ordinary real happenings or discussions or experiences.

Thus under the four heads given above we have not much real information.

8. His Guru. I have a few rather startling points to suggest on the subject of the alleged relation of Ramanand†

*The Rev. Ahmad Shah says on page *vii* of his *Hindi Religious Poetry* : Most noticeable is the wealth of metaphor throughout. Metaphor here is the real method of instruction, and so often in India, takes the place of argument. Not the least effective are the poets who use their own or their hearers' common occupations or the details of the Holi festival, to paint their picture of the devotee or of the world's Vanity Fair. Also see his remarks on page *vi* about God as the Sat Guru.

†Mr. S. S. Das in *Kabir Granthavali* has earlier a similar thesis, though in a later passage he accepts *public* opinion,

with Kabir. Firstly the very mention of the sacred number 12* in connection with the disciples of Ramanand, raises huge doubts in my mind about the authenticity of the statement. 12† appears again in 120, the number of years given by the "biographers" to Kabir as to Shaikh Farid, Ramanand, Ramanuja, Ravidas, Namdev, Dadu, etc. Secondly, it is unthinkable that any one belonging to Santism or the *Sant Mat*, as Kabir did belong, should conceal the identity of his Guru and never once mention him in his writings, while the greatest emphasis is laid by him on complete, comprehensive obedience and subservience to the Guru, whose deeds are above criticism and who is to be identified with the Lord Himself; this is a matter for serious consideration. Thirdly, the curious way the eager Hindu biographers of Kabir contrive his first encounter with Ramanand‡, betrays an unholy anxiety to prove true what is not true, and reveals the fact that this Muhammadan weaver never got personally initiated into the *Anhad Shabad* mysteries by Ramanand; his knowledge came after a considerable search and research at the feet, and in the company, of *Bairagis* and *Sufis* and *Jogis*, as the unknown author of *Dabistan-i-Mazahib* states (pp. 167-169). Fourthly, Kabir, like Nanak after him, in several shabads, seems to refer to the Lord Himself, the *Sat Guru*§ as his Guru. At one place he uses the epithet *Jagat Guru* for the *Anhad*

*This is a very, very sacred number; Ramanuja is also given 12 disciples; exile is limited to 12 years, so is penance or *tap*; e.g., Puran Bhagat was put in a garret for 12 years; Baba Farid suffered self-inflicted rigours for 12 years; 12 are the Sadhus; 12 Panths of Jogis and of Kabir, 12 months, 12 *Tilaks*, 12 *Rases* 12 *Mashas*, 12 *Imams* etc. Ranjha left home when he was 12; he spent 12 years in the service and nearness of his love, Hir.

†Bhandarkar in his *Vaishnavism and Saivism* (p. 67) mentions 13 disciples of Ramanand and Macauliffe, in *S. R.* gives 40.

‡*T. C. C. P.*, Vol. I., p. 233: It is said that Kabir became the chela or disciple of Ramanand, but this cannot be true, as Ramanand was dead before his birth.

§Ravidas says (p. 41, *H. R. P.*):

"Sadhus, of the Sat Guru all the world is chela,"

shabad (*Rag Ramkali Das's Granthavali*, p. 137). In one shabad he is quite definite and explicit (*ibid*, p. 176):

“Kabir is the child of Allah, and Ram; Hari is my Guru and my Pir.”

Another instance* is on page 126, *ibid* No. 120 (*vide* page 306, *Adi Granth*). In P. P. L. Manuscript No. 193 *Ba* we have on folio 467/1: Let no one speak ill of Sants; the Sant and Ram (or Hari) are one and the same; Kabir says, I have worshipped that Guru whose name is Bibek (Discrimination). The exact couplet is found in *Adi Granth*, p. 733.

As an illustration of the lack of sufficient labour in research leading to incorrect conclusions and as an example of the difference between the *Adi Granth* and the Manuscript versions of *Kabir-Bani*, I give in full one shabad as it appears in the three anthologies; it need hardly be added that this, as almost all the other shabads, is not mentioned by Pandit Das as occurring both in the *Adi Granth* and in his manuscript pp. 3, 4, just because he or his agent had not the patience to go through the *Adi Granth* exhaustively. Mark the tampering with spelling which Pandit Das has effected:

माधउ जल की पिआस न जाइ
जल महि अगनि उठी अधिकाइ
तूँ जलिनिधि हउ जल का मीनु । रहाउ ।
जल महि रहउ जलहि बिनु खीनु
तूँ पिंजरु हउ सुअटा तोर
जगु मंजारु, कहा करै मोर
तूँ तरवर, हउ पंखी आहि
मंद भागी तेरो दरसन नहि

*Also see K. G., p. 143, pad 165 and p. 145, pad 170.

तू सतिगुरु, हउ नउ तनु चेला
कहि कबीर मिलु अंत की बेला

(A. G., p. 301.)

राम बिन तन की ताप न जाई
जल में अगनि उठी अधिकाई ॥ टेक ॥
तुम्ह जलनिधि में जल कर मीनां
जल में रहों जलहिं बिन पीनां
तुम्ह प्यंजरा में सुवनां तोरा
दरसन देहु भाग बड़ मोरा
तुम्ह सतगुर में नौतम चेला
कहै कबीर, राम रम् अकेला

(K. G., p. 126.)

राम बिन तन की ताप न जाई
जल में अगनि उठी अधिकाई ॥ टेक ॥
तुम्ह जल निधि में जल कर मीना
जल में रहूं जलहिं बिन पीनां (१)
तुम्ह प्यंजरा में सूवनं तोरा
दरसन देहु भाग बड़ मोरा (२)
तुम्ह सतगुर में नौतम चेला
कहै कबीर राम रम् अकेला (३) (११६)

(P. U. L. MS. No. 1960, Folio 199/2.)

With regard to the Guru or Sat-Guru, both interchangeable terms, I seem to be coming round to the final view after reading the Sants again and again, that unless we presume a regular conspiracy on the part of all major *Sants* to hide the names of their personal men-Gurus, if at all they had them, we must conclude that the personal Guru—whenever he did exist—to every one of them was but an accident in this

life; the real Guru is the Shabad* itself; the Shabad and the real Guru are inside man; the Guru, the Shabad, and the Hari, all three reside within. As someone has very sarcastically but so aptly put it, the one and the only one object of search, glorification and enjoyment for these *Sants* or mystics was "Introverted Bliss," which could be got by trying to reach up the stages that were inside the body of man, which stages were placed round different physical centres of man and were marked by the rise of different types of spiritual music. Whatever religion, whatever practice, whatever place, whatever form you suggest as good, desirable, to them, they would point out its mental or physical correspondence in man, would emphasise that correspondence like Swedenborg and then say that there in the body, or the mind-processes or mind-virtues which correspond exactly and fully with the Universe and the Lord of the Universe with and without His Attributes, they were being used by them. Not one of them, Kabir, Bajida, Dadu or Nanak mentions a personal man-Guru in his authentic *Bani*. The only possible excep-

*No translation should satisfy the reader on this point. I quote the original lines from Guru Nanak who is here engaged in an imaginary *gosht* or conversation with Gorakh Nath, Bharthri etc. (A. G. p. 874.)

पवन अरंभु सतिगुर मति वेला
सबदु गुरु सुरति धुनि चेला
अकथ कथा ले रहऊँ निराला
नानक जुगि जुगि गुर गोपाला

(A. G., p. 874.)

सुसबद कौ निरंतरि वासु अलखं जह देख तह सोई

(A. G., p. 875.)

सबदि गुरु भव सागर तरीऐ इत उत एको जाणै

(Ibid.)

अपरंपार पार ब्रह्म परमेसर,

नानक गुर मिलिआ सोई जीउ

(A. G., p. 553.)

tions are Gorakh and Namdev who name and praise Machhandra and Nivritti Nath respectively but I have my suspicions there, too. Dadu distinctly says :—

गोब्यदं गोसाईं तुम्हें अम्हं चां गुरा

(*Dadu, Belvedere Press, Allahabad, Vol. II, p. 92.*)

दादू ब्रह्मा बिष्णु महेश का कौण पंथ गुर देव
सांई सिरजन हार तूं कहिए अलप अभेव
दादू महमद किस के दीन मों जबराइल किस राह
इनके मुरिसद पीर की कहिये एक अलाह
दादू ए सब किसके ह्वै रहे यहु मरे मन मांहि
अलप इलाही जगतगुर दूजा कोई नाहि

हरि साधू यों पाइए अवगति के आराध
साधू संगति हरि मिले हरि संगति तैं साध
राम नाम सों मिल रहै मन के छाडि बिकार
तौ दिल ही माह्वै देखिए दुनयों का दीदार

(*P. U. L. MS. No. 1960*)

दादू गैब माहि गुरदेव मिलया पाया हम परसाद

(*Ibid.*)

कायां माह्वै निपजे साध—कायां माह्वै पद निरबाण

(*Dadu, Vol. II, Belvedere Press, Prayag, p. 361.*)

कायां माह्वै तारण हार (p. 155.)

भंभे चेला भंभे गुर भंभे ही उपदेस

बाहिरि द्वंद्वे बावरे जटा बंधाये केस

(*p. 8*)

The common convention of these Sants is to refer to all the historical and mythical Bhagats gone before, known to them, in their *Bani* and to offer the same veneration to every Sant, not to one particular, unnamed, if at all real, Guru. Namdev says (*Rag Asa 1/5, Adi Granth* page 451) : "He (the Lord) gave me birth in the home of a Chhipa ; (then)

occurred the instruction by the Guru. Nama met Hari through the *Sants*."

Kabir says (*Rag Suhi/5, Adi Granth, p. 733*):

"Don't you anyone talk ill of the Sants; the Sant and Ram are one and the same; Kabir says, I have attained to that Guru whose name is Discrimination (*Bibek*)."

We must, therefore, conclude that where there is no mention of a name as that of the Guru, we are to take that fact as the non-existence of a personal teacher.

The same word *Sat Guru* for the Lord is used by Gorakhnath (*B. V., page 210*), Beni (*A. G., p. 1251*), Ramanand (*Adi Granth, page 1109*), Namdev (*S.V.A., pp. 129-130 and P. U. L. MS. No. 1960, folio 266/1*), Ravidas (*Adi Granth, p. 1110*), Bajida (*P. U. L. MS. No. 6382*).

Raidas (*P. U. L., Manuscript No. 1960*) uses *Bithul* for God, folio 284/2. He uses *Loi* for the world, folio 286/1. Some of his lines on folio 288/2 are almost the same as of Charpat given in my *History of Panjabi Literature, p. 109, stanza 3*. On folio 290/2 he addresses God and says: You are the master, the Guru of the world (*Svami, Jagat Guru*).

Fifthly, the *Gur Mantar* or *Mul* or *Bij Mantar* is a most vital part of spiritual instruction in *Santism*. This *Mantar* (Mantra) is conveyed personally into the ears of the new initiate by the Guru. Now the *Mantra* of the old *Bhagvatas*, according to the *Kalisantarana Upanishad* of Krishna Yajurveda was :—

*Hare Ram Hare Ram
Ram Ram Hare Hare
Hare Krishna Hare Krishna
Krishna Krishna Hare Hare.*

The biographers make out that *Ram, Ram*, was the *Mantar* imparted to his *Shishyas* (Sikhs) called *Ramaitis* or

Ramavats by Ramanand. But we don't find that emphasis on that word by Kabir or the Kabirites, who seem to have accepted *Satnam* as the Mantar while the followers of Nanak, *Vahiguru*, a compound formed out of the first letters of the four current Mantars, which severally belonged to the four Yugs, (Va) *Vasudev*, *Hari* (Hi), *Govind* (Gu) and (Ru) *Ram* (*vide* Bhai Gurdas*, *Var* 1, *Pauri* 49). The Mantar of Ravidas is also *Satnam* (*vide* *Adi Granth*, page 641). Ravidasis are sometimes called *Satnamis* (*vide* *E. R. E.*, page 210, Vol: II and *C. P. G.*, 1870, page 412). To Kabir any other qualificative name of *Brahm* is as good as *Ram* and further it is not qualificative (*Varnatmik*) names he lays stress on, but the unlettered, *Dhunatmik Nam* or Name which he wants to recite. Says Kabir (*Adi Granth*, pages 447-448):

“On my tongue, Bishan (Vishnu), (in my) eyes, Narain (Narayana), and (in my) heart dwells Gobind (Govinda).”

In another place he says: “(The resident of) Bindraban, the stealer of heart and the enticer of heart, Krishna grazes the cows; whose Thakur are you Saringdhar, (I am he), my name is Kabir.”

Sixthly, Ramanand according to tradition was a Baishno or Bairagi; if so, either we have to accept Kabir as a Bairagail, an enlightened Bairagi, as *Dabistan-i-Mazahib* (does p. 165), or to take him at his word and treat him as a Free-thinker. Does he not clearly say that he is neither a Jogi nor a Bairagi? (*vide* *Rag Maru*/1, *Adi Granth*, page 1205.) In *Gauri*, *shabad* 53, he says: “My king, I am (both) a Bairagi and a Jogi.”

*In *Var* 1, *Pauri* 23, Gurdas seems to give *Sat Nam* as the Sikh Mantar. But in *Var* 1, *Pauri* 49, he gives *Vahiguru* as the Jap Mantar; he does that again in *Var* 24, *Pauri* 1. He calls it *Shabad*. We find it again in *Var* 6, *Pauri* 5.

Nihal Singh Suri also accepts him as such, *vide* his *Gurmukhi Life of Kabir*, pp. 20-22 and 30-31.

My own opinion is that Kabir, in his early life, like Ravidas, did become a Bairagi* or Baishno in pursuance of the teachings of Ramanand which came to him at second-hand, Ramanand having pre-deceased him† by about 20 years, but, like Ravidas again, he remained a house-holding Baishno, developing the attitude, common to all Bhagats before and after him, of insistence upon the inner, metaphysical aspects of the outer forms and ceremonies and worships, the necessity for which he realized like other Bhagats in the later part of his life. As we shall see in a later chapter, the influence on Kabir of Gorakh Nath and Jaidev and Namdev was far greater than that of Ramanand. This influence, further, was wholesale, particularly of Namdev, and comprehensive. There is little doubt, however, that Kabir, like others‡ rather soon after his death, began to be associated in public mind with Ramanand. Many of these mediæval Bhagats were contemporaries, more or less, and this fact lent them to the easy, interested interpretation of a common discipleship of a famous Brahman teacher; while, in fact, they all denounced the Brahman and would

* *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. 2, page 593: Kabir popularized the current Vaishnav teaching of his age without, however, connecting it with any particular incarnation,

† *Re.* the dates of Ramanand I reproduce here my note from my *History of Panjabi Literature*, p. 25: Ramanand was born in 1299 (*E. R. E.* Vol. 10, page 569). This is accepted by all and can be established independently too from the dates of Yamunacharya (*E. H. V. S.* pp. 113-117) and of Ramanuja, the Guru in the fifth place of Ramanand. According to *B. M. D.*, Gurmukhi, Ramanand was born in 1299 and died in 1354. Pipa was born in 1349 (*vide Bhagat Bani Satik*, Gurmukhi). *B. M. D.* was written recently but after a long travelling programme all over India and after much personal investigation. I place great reliance on its conclusions. The date of Ramanand's birth is evidently drawn from *Agastya Samhita*, which says that Ramanand was born at Prayaga when 4400 years had elapsed since the beginning of *Kal Yug*. (*Vide J. R. A. S.*, 1920, p. 595.)

‡ *E. g.*, the father of Gnanadeva (fl. about 1290) Vitthalpant, *vide pp.* 19 and 30-31, Ranade's *Mysticism in Maharashtra*.

own none but the Great God as their Guru. Gurbakhsh Singh in his *Gurmukhi Life of Namdev* seems to me to have come upon the real explanation of the self-contradictions apparent in the lives of these Bhagats and upon the true course of the evolution of their thought and practice.

Manuscript No. 133, according to the *R. S. H. M.* for 1901 A. D., was compiled by Anant Das in 1588 and contains the work of Namdev, Kabir, Raidas, Seo Sampat, Trilochan, Angad, Rakahaka and Dhanna. On page 5 of the *R. S. H. M.* for 1902 the probable dates for Kabir are given as 1398-1448*. Another collection of *Kabir-ki-Bani* is dated 1512 A. D. (*Vide H. H. P. S. V.*, 1923, page 19.) The first manuscript is placed with one Lalit Ram of Jodhpur, Rajputana. Manuscript No. 136 mentioned in the report for 1901, page 99, is *Bhakti Bhavati* in verse by one Goesananda, who makes his obeisance to Anantanand, who was a disciple of Ramanand. We don't know if he mentions Kabir. But his doctrines, ideology and vocabulary

* "It would, therefore, appear that Gorakha Natha was dead, when Kabira wrote these verses. Now the time of Kabira Deva is approximately given by scholars in the beginning of the fifteenth century. Beal in his *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* fixes 1490 as the time of Kabira and considers him to be contemporaneous with Sikandar Sur Lodi of Delhi. Dr. Hunter fixes 1300 to 1420 as the time of Kabir (see his *Indian Empire*, Chapter VIII). In a Hindi book *Bharat Bhramana* which has recently been published, the following verses are quoted in proof of the time when Kabira was born and when he died.

चौदह सौ पचपन साल गिरा चन्दु एक ठाट हुए
जेठ सुदी बहसायत को पूरन मासी तिथि भए
सँवत पंद्रह सौ अर पाच मगहर कियो गमन
अगहन सुदी एकदसी मिले पवन में पवन

This would then, fix the birth of Kabira in 1398 and his death in A. D. 1448." (*R. S. H. M.*, 1902, page 5.) The author of the report in a footnote on the same page quotes from *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in N. W. P. and Oudh* by Dr. A. Fuhrer, p. 224, in support of the above.

are exactly like Kabir's, which lends unqualified support to our view that Ramanand was a *Surt Shabad Yogi*, to whom his doctrine may have in parts come from the South, *via* the Maratha country. The work was composed in 1554. Manuscript No. 128 is said to have been composed in 1600 according to *H. H. P. S. V.* page 87. In its two parts *a* and *b* it contains the stories (*Parichya, Parchi-Panjabi*) of Pipa and Raidas. It may or may not be a part and a copy of Ananta Das. According to the report for 1909-11, page 7, Ravidas flourished about 1450; his date of birth is given as 1399 (*vide R. S. H. M.*, 1909-11, page 7 and *ibid*, 1914, page 7, and *S. H. L.*, Book IV, page 86); Ananta Dasa (*vide, ante*, page 5.) came shortly after Raidas in the second half of the 15th century; the dates the Report gives on page 6, for Kabir, on the authority of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1909, are 1380-1420. The *R. S. H. M.* for 1902 contains an account of a manuscript, No. 249 which is a collection of the *Padas* in *Rag Sortha*, of Mira, Kavira and Namadeva; on page 81 of the said Report Mira* is

* Mira in one of her *Shabads* (*vide my History of the Panjabi Literature*, page 136) refers to Kabir as if long dead, and to Ravidas and others. Of her, Kincaid says in his *Teachers of India*, page 38:—Colonel Tod more correctly speaks of her as a princess of Jodhpur; she was the queen of Kumbho Rana who succeeded to the throne of Udaipur in 1491. According to Mr. Melita she was born about 1499. According to Mr. Jhaveri she was born in 1403. In the *Archaeological Survey Report of N. W. P. & Oudh* for 1893 we read on page 19: Rana Kumbhakaran built a temple to Vishnu in 1450 and another in honour of Somanath (Siva) was built by his Queen Miran Bai, who was celebrated for her poetry. In the *P. U. L. MS.* No. 528 dated 1693 both Miranbai and Karmanbai are said to have belonged to Udaipur. In his Hindi *History of Udaipur Raj*, G. H. Ohja says (Vol. I., p. 358) that Miranbai was married in 1516 A. D. and that she died in 1546. She was the daughter of Ratan Singh and the wife of Bhojraj, son of Sangram Singh or Rana Sanga. This date does also support our thesis that both Kabir and Ravidas had long departed before her birth and that neither was Miranbai a disciple and contemporary of Ravidas nor was Ravidas a co-disciple with Kabir of Ramanand. Kabir had any way long been gathered to his forbears before even the birth of Miranbai about 1498 A. D. The only MSS. containing

said to have flourished about 1420. In their reference to these great Bhagats neither the *A. G. Bhatta* (writing between 1550 and 1604) nor Guru Arjan Dev mentions Ramanand (1299-1354, *E. R. E.*, and *Bharat Mat Darpan* in Panjabi) either as a Bhagat or as the *Guru* of Kabir and Ravidas. Guru Arjan Dev (1553-1606) in *Rag Basant* (*Adi Granth*, pp. 1105-1106) talks of the following Sants amongst others : Dhanna, Trilochan, Beni, Jaidev, Sain, Set, Kabir, Namdev, Ravidas and lastly not as a *Sant* but as the *Guru*, Nanak, whom he calls *Govind Rup* or the very form of the Govinda, the Lord.

It must be noticed that he separates the Independents, those who had no *Guru*, from the Perfected Disciples, who attained to Him through their Guru's aid ; only Trilochan and Beni are put under the second.

He writes again, on pages 452, 453, *Adi Granth* :— The mind of Namdev became absorbed in Gobind ; the tailor of a half-penny worth acquired the worth of lakhs. Giving up weaving and loving the feet (of the Lord) Kabir, Julaha, low-caste, became all-virtue. Ravidas, who ever used to carry the dead bodies of animals gave up Maya and on the appearance to him of the companionship of *Sadhs* attained to the *Darshan* (Vision) of Hari. Sain, barber, was known in every house as a worker on human body ; in his heart the *Par Brahm* began to reside and he came to be counted among the *Bhagats*. This way (was) heard by the Jat who commenced Bhagti. Great, indeed, was Dhanna's fortune for he glimpsed the *Gosain* (God) face to face.

Guru Amardas (1479-1574), the third Sikh Guru, who was born ten years after Nanak, and who died 36 years after him,

Miran's work I have been able to trace are *P. U. L.* No. 374, dated 1804 and *J. S. L.*, No. 249, undated, containing *Rag Sortha Padas* of Miran, Kavira and Namadeva. The latter MS. is mentioned in *R. S. H. M.* for 1902, page 81. After Miran there is given the date 1429. (A. D. or Vikrama?). Mr. Mehta in his *Monograph* on Miranbai gives (p. 65) 1498 and 1546-7 as the dates of her birth and death.

and who, if we were to believe the mythographers of Kabir was 39 when Kabir died in 1518, has left his own *Bani* exactly and properly transcribed by Sansram, his grandson, in his own life-time and by Guru Arjan, who was himself 21 years old when Guru Amardas died, through the help of his father Guru Ram Das, the son-in-law of Guru Amar Das, in which at about a dozen places he differs from Kabir straight-away and in other portions of which he refers to Kabir, as one long dead, who had like Namdev etc., attained to the Highest in this life, (*vide Adi Granth*, page 63). This evidence is infallible for more than one contention of ours : Kabir had long pre-deceased Nanak, to whom Kabir's *Bani* might or might not have been known ; Kabir was not a regular, personal disciple of Ramanand, and Ramanand himself is not known to have become very much popular in the Panjab, by the time of Nanak. None of the first five Sikh Gurus refers to Ramanand.

It may be related *en passant* that Guru Amar Das was precisely in the position of Kabir, before he embraced Sikhism ; that is, he was a Vaishnava in the habit of visiting Hardwar on a pilgrimage every year and fond of *Bani* and used to collecting it. His comments on Vaishnavism or the Bairagis after his embrace of Sikhism are on a par with Kabir's comments on the same. His clubbing of Kabir with Namdev and the nature of his allusion to their popular verses, leaves no doubt in our minds that here we have persons who had joined the majority fairly long while before their commentator was born. In the references to the *Bhagats* by the *Bhatts* (*vide Adi Granth*, pp. 1286, 1289, 1290), the name of Ramanand does not occur while the names of Kabir and all others are recounted in the manner of the third Guru. The *Bhatt Kal*, who was at the court of Guru Amar Das is our another great authority (*Adi Granth*, page 1286). The author of *Risalae Kabir Sagar* Urdu, Munshi Alam Das of Saharanpore, in

his lecture delivered in 1879, denies on page 17 of his work that Ramanand was the Guru of Kabir and arrays several reasons for his assertion.

We read in Guru Amar Das (*Adi Granth*, page 63) :

“Nama, a *Chhipa* by caste, and Kabir, a *Julaha*, they attained salvation (*Gati*) through the Perfect Guru.* They were the sons of the Lord (Brahma), they realised the *shabad* and they destroyed the caste of “I am” (they obliterated the self, the consciousness of which should be really treated as something low, as something which should be treated as we treat wrongly low-caste people) ; gods and men sing their *Bani* (compositions) ; O brother, no one can efface that *Bani*.”

Obviously Guru Amar Das (b. 1479 and d. 1574) does not write merely haphazardly and ignorantly. He could easily have referred to Ramanand if he had been Kabir's and Namdev's Guru. By one Perfect Guru is meant God, the Lord. In the references to the *Bhagats* by the *Bhatts* (*vide Adi Granth*, pp. 1286, 1289, 1290), the name of Ramanand does not occur while the names of Kabir and all others are recounted in the manner of the third Guru. Manuscript No. 63 mentioned in the *R. S. H. M.* for 1900 may throw some light on Ramanand. This poetical work is by Mihi Lala who is the fifth direct disciple of Ramananda ; the list runs : Raghavananda, Ramananda, Doacharya, Aghara Dasa, Janaki Dasa, Baishnava Das, Mihi Lala.

In the final settlement of the question of Guru, let us quote Kabir himself again (*Rag Prabhati*, *Adi Granth*, page 1249 ; Cf. ante, page 12):

“ These women and men (You have) created, all are Your manifestations, Your *rupa* ; Kabir says, I am a small fry of *Ram* and *Allah* ; all (these) are my *Gurus* and *Pirs*.”

* To place our interpretation of the Perfect Guru beyond the pale of doubt, I may refer to the use (thrice) of the same expression by Nanak himself on p. 392, *A. G.*, where he uses *Sat Guru Sadh* also for the Lord,

Das's printed version (*p.* 137) contains this *shabad* but the *Adi Granth* version is patently the correcter and fuller of the two.

In a similar strain Nanak says (*Adi Granth*, *p.* 213) :

"He, who understands the meaning of this *Pad*, he is our *Guru*."

The evidence of Gurdas (*b.* 1551 and *d.* 1629 or 1637) runs thus (*Var** 10) :

The chronological order of the Bhagats of Kali Yug is Jaidev, author of *Git Govind* ; Namdev ; Trilochan, a friend of Namdev ; Dhanna ; Beni ; Kabir, who was a disciple of Ramanand ; Sain, who became a Bhagat through the fame of Kabir's spiritual attainment ; Ravidas. A miracle or an extraordinary event connected with the origin or growth of the spiritual enlightenment of each is given. The story about Kabir is his ruse to meet Ramanand, from whom Kabir got the Gur Mantar of *Ram*. The stories are repeated in *Var* 12, *Pauri* 15, the order being Nama, Kabir, Dhanna, Ravidas, Beni, Sain. A reference to Gorakhnath and his Guru Machhindar is made in *Var* 23, *Pauri* 11. The order of *Sadhiks* and *Siddhs* is connected with them. The miracle about Namdev is again mentioned in *Var* 24, *Pauri* 4. Gorakh and *Machhindra* recur in *Var* 26, *Puri* 17. Jaidev, Beni, Trilochan, Namdev, Dhanna, Sadhna, Kabir and Ravidas are again mentioned in *Var* 23, *Pauri* 15. In *Var* 25, *Pauri* 5, we have once more Dhanna, Sadhna, Kabir, Namdev, Ravidas, and Sain. Gorakh comes up again in *Var* 36, *Pauri* 20 and *Var* 38, *Pauri* 7.

9. Date of Birth. Keay's opinion after Westcott's about the dates of the birth and death of Kabir has been vitiated by two and two considerations only : he betrays them both and lets the cat

* Nihal Singh Suri in his *Gurmukhi Life of Kabir*, *p.* 20, footnote, says that this *Var* is believed by some to have been an interpolation and, not the composition of Gurdas.

out of the bag when he says (*K. & F.*, pp. 27-28): "The traditional date of Kabir's birth is 1398 or 1399 (Sammāt 1456) but the date of his birth seems to have been placed too early. It *may have been with a desire to connect him with Ramananda* that the date of his birth was placed so early ; for Ramananda is often said to have died about the year 1410 when Kabir would have been twelve years old. There is, however, good reason for thinking that Ramanand was born about 1400....." On the date of Kabir's death he delivers himself thus : " He is said to have lived till 1518. This is probably correct and *fits* well into the facts. Nanak lived from 1469 to 1538 and would thus be 29 years younger than Kabir, which also *fits* in well. The Emperor Sikandar Lodi reigned between 1488 and 1512 and visited Jaunpur in 1495. (He never, never visited Jaunpur in that year, *vide* Farishta, Vol. 1, pp. 333-334.) These dates also *fit* in with the probable dates of Kabir's life." Here is a most glaring instance of facts to be accepted being required to fit in with desirable theories. If others place his date of birth early to give Kabir a first-rate Brahman, Vaishnav, Bairagi, Ramajite *Guru*, Keay places the date of his death as late as possible to give him an excellent *Chela* or disciple in Nanak. First, as we shall see in detail in our Vol. 3, Nanak's teachings differ fundamentally from Kabir's on at least 6 points, including the vital one of the *Mul* or *Bij Mantar*, *vide, ante*, page 17 ; second, there are at least half a dozen other thinkers contemporary with Kabir or Nanak who use the same literary diction, doctrinal ideology, poetical similes and metaphors, and mythological allusions, some of whom are Muhammadans : why father the *Guru* Kabir on poor Nanak alone and deprive him of the credit of being an independent thinker like Kabir himself and like some others who all breathed *in* the same atmosphere and who breathed *out* the same critical, conciliatory and candid words ; third, Kabir himself is anticipated completely by varying periods by Gorakh Nath, Charpat

Nath, Jaidev, Gnanadeva, Ramanand, Namdev, Tilochan and several others on exactly those points doctrinal, expository, poetic, verbal and denunciatory on which Keay and others would base Kabir's greatness as a founder and father of so many sects and ideas and as the *Guru* of Nanak; fourth, Nanak in the *Adi Granth* nowhere mentions Kabir although the names of Isar, Gorakhnath, Gopichand, Charpat, Bharthri occur in turn (*vide Adi Granth*, page 883). If we dissociate ourselves from these two aims of giving Kabir a decent *Guru* and a decent *Chela* (like a decent present or previous birth and a decent death and burial not at Maghar anyway or even, if of necessity, at Maghar), then the only historical bit we have to contend against is the evidence of Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*,† Vol. II, page 82, Naval Kishor, Persian, which is drawn upon by Sujan Rae for his *Khulasat-ut Tavarikh*, Delhi, Persian, page 43. Now so far as pre-Akbar history is concerned Abul Fazl's own sources should be the final authority for us. (*Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*, *Zubdattut-Tavarikh*) *Ain-i Akbari*,* Vol. II, page 243, Persian, Naval Kishor make no mention whatsoever of Kabir. Farishta (Persian, Vol. I, pp. 334-334) only describes the prosecution and

* *Ain-i Akbari and Khulasa tut Tavarikh*.—It will be news to the students of Kabir that there are two and not one reference in *A. A.* to Kabir (*vide* page 393 and page 433), *A. S. B.*, Calcutta edition). The first reference under the heading Bangala (Bengal) and sub-head Jagannath (Odissa) states that according to some statements concerning the cells (or graves) round the temple of Sun-God said to have been built seven hundred thirty and odd years before Abul Fazl's own time by Narsingha Deva, in one of them rests Kabir, the Unitarian, the second reference coming after, under the head Oudh, states that some people (or traditions) are of the opinion that in Ratanpur the grave (*Turbat*) of Kabir, the Unitarian, (existed) in the time of Sikandar Lodi. The latter Persian passage is subject to two interpretations on account of there being only a comma in some MSS. of *A. A.* and in others there being no comma; one interpretation is that in Ratanpur was Kabir's grave in the time of Sikandar, if we accept no comma; the other, that the grave of Kabir

beheading of one Bodhan,* a Hindu who talked in the strain (in which Kabir before him had done) at Sambhal between 1499-1501. This Bodhan may have been the same person as is stated to have been fourth in spiritual descent from Kabir : Kabir, Kamal, Jamal, Vimal, Bodhan and Dadu (*vide History of the sect of Maharajas*, page 26). Dadu, fifth from Kabir, is said to have been born in 1544.

The date of Ananta Dasa given on page 5, *ante*, of Miran Bai, of Ravidas, of Pipa, of Ramanand,† of Guru Amardas, who among the five Sikh Gurus and the *Bhatts* is the only one to mention Kabir, of Sa'dullah (*vide Akhbar-ul-Akhyar*, Persian, pp. 342-343), all point to the death of Kabir as having occurred between 1420-1449 and his birth between 1380 or even 1360 and 1398. I have discussed some of these dates on pages 24-27 of my *History of Panjabi Literature*. To me the

lies in Rattanpur ; he was in the time of Sikandar if one accept the comma and treat it equivalent to a semi-colon and condone the ungrammatical omission of the verb in the first sentence. The *K. T.* (Delhi, p. 43) says that in Rattanpur is the grave (*Mazar*) of Kabir, the weaver, who in the time of Sultan Sikandar Lodi in Benares had gone to the capital of Reality from the town of Appearance.

As to Sikandar Lodi, his date of birth is not known ; before he ascended the throne of Delhi in 1488 he was in the area of Jaunpur of which he was the Governor at the time of his father's death (*vide A. A.*, Navalkishor Press, Vol. II, p. 144). As to some other Sikandar, we find Sikandar Shah I amongst the kings of Bengal (which under some kings included Odissa and Bihar ; *vide M. D.* by L. P., 1894) who ruled from 1338 to 1389. Sikandar Shah II's date, who was also a king of Bengal, is 1481. On page 300 of the same work we have amongst the rulers connected with Delhi, Sikandar Shah whose date is given as 1392.

* *Benares Dt. Gazetteer*, 1909, p. 241 ; Another is the Dadupanthi *Akhara* founded by a Brahman named Budhan who was childless. He found a child lying on the banks of the river and gave him the name of Dadu ; the latter became an ascetic and established this well-known sect (of Dadu Panthis) about 300 years ago.

† A couplet of Guru Arjan Dev, 5th Sikh Guru, is wrongly attributed by Elliot to Ramanand. (*Vide Buddhism and Hinduism*, Vol. II., page 243.)

evidence of Ravidas, Guru Amar Das, Abdul Haq* and Kal† is incontrovertible and conclusive.

* Abdul Haq, in his Persian work *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar* (Ahmadi Press, Delhi, 1853 A. D.) refers to Kabir. His evidence (pp. 198-200 and 341-343) can be summarized thus: My ancestor Agha Muhammed Turk Bukhari came to Delhi in the time of Ala-ud-din Khalji. His son was Malik Muiz-ud-din; Malik Musa was the son of Muiz-ud-din who lived in the time of Firoz Shah. One of Malik Musa's sons was Shaikh Firoz, who was alive in the first part of the reign of Sultan Bahlol and died in 1455 (A. H. 860). His posthumous son was Sa'dullah who was my real grandfather. Shaikh Rizq Ullah was Sa'dullah's eldest son. My uncle Rizq used to say that one day I asked Sa'dullah: this famous Kabir whose (*Bishanpadas*) men read, was he a Musalman or a Kafir? He replied: he *was* a *Muvahhid*, believer in one God. I then submitted: but a *Muvahhid* is a *ghair* Kafir, non-Kafir, in other words, a Musalman. Thereupon, he said it is too difficult to comprehend this meaning or explanation. You should try to understand. Sa'dullah died in 1521 (A. H. 928). My father at the time was 8 years old. Shaikh Rizq Ullah was born in 1491 and died in 1581. My grandfather Shaikh Sa'dullah was a *Murid* or disciple of Shaikh Mohd Malava, whose tomb is at Malawa town in Qanauj. My uncle Rizq Ullah was also made a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad, when Shaikh Muhammad Malava visited these parts (Delhi) during the reign of Sultan Sikandar; my grandfather associated with him for several years.

The aforesaid statements point out conclusively that Shaikh Rizq Ullah inquired from Sa'dullah about Kabir, anyway before 1512 when Sikandar died, in whose reign Shaikh Muhammad had come to Delhi where both Sa'dullah and Rizq became his disciples. As Shaikh Muhammad had hailed from the Qanauj area, he and his companions must have brought the news and *Bishanpadas* of Kabir, the famous Musalman Julaha singer. Rizq Ullah was touched by the utterances and he wanted to find out if Kabir had been a Muslim or a non-Muslim. The reply his father gave him was that *Kabir had been* a believer in one God, which shows that Kabir had been dead for many years when the query was made and that since his death, his reputation and his poetry had found enough time and patronage to travel up to Delhi. The reader will hear more of this inquirer about Kabir, and his own *Hindavi* Bhagti poetry in the third volume of my work.

†The poet Kal is the only *Bhatt* who sings the praises of Guru Nanak. As he mentions Guru Amar Das, he must have died before 1574, the year of the death of Guru Amar Das. His evidence runs thus (A. G., pp. 1285-1287): Guru Nanak carried out *Raj Jog* and *Sahj Jog*. The praises of God have been sung by Ravidas Bhagat, Nama and Bhagat Kabir, Bhagat Beni (all of whom are clubbed together in one stanza). Mahadev is (mentioned) both as a Bairagi and as a Jogi. God's praises are sung by the nine Naths and by Bharthri who ever associated with his Guru.

It is obvious from the above that Kabir must have died before the birth of Kal which may be presumed to have taken place by 1510 or

10. His Name and Family Life. I don't think the ingenuity of the splitting up of the word Kabir into *Kar* and *Bir* deserves to be paid any other compliment than that of a hearty laughter; it is a well-known fact that among the low-class Muhammadans single-word names are preferred to two-word ones and even where there is a two-word name, it is in actual conversation reduced to one word, and, further, that the lower classes take special pleasure in giving themselves rather holy and very dignified names, often of saints that have come to be revered in the family or the locality or the tribe. Shaikh Kabir† or Kabir-ud-din Auliya, was a well-known saint and philosopher; his tomb was erected in the reign of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud Shah (1389-92). He was a contemporary and friend of Jalal-ud-din Avadhi, Shams-ud-din Yahya, Zia-ud-din Barni, Mohammad Kirmani (*vide Siyar-ul-Auliya* by Chishti and *Safinat-ul-Auliya* by Dara Shikoh). Yahya Bakhtiar was later surnamed Khwaja Yahya Kabir. He died in A. D. 1430 (*vide History of the Afgans*, B. Dorn, Part II, pp. 6 and 12). Hasan Kabir-ud-din preached Islam in Uch in the 13th century. Sayyid Ahmad Kabir is said to have been the means of conversion of several tribes in the Panjab (*I. I.*, p. 43). Further, Kabir is one of the hundred and one holy names of God in the *Quran*§.

Kabir is also known as Kabir Shah (*vide Basti District Gazetteer*, p. 225) and Babaji|| Kabir, which may well be com-

thereabouts. The nine *Naths* referred to by Kal are, according to Kaka Singh, *B. B. S.*, p. 341, Gorakh, Machhandra, Charpat, Mangal, Ghughghu, Gopi, Pranka, Surat and Chanba. Kabir also talks of the nine *Naths*. *Vide A. G.*, *Rag Bhairo*, 5/5/13.

† *Salok* 31, on page 1264, *Adi Granth*, seems to bear out this view that Kabir was generally treated as a holy name of God and that Kabir was aware of this connotation of his own name.

§ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 593.

|| *R. S. H.* M. for 1909-11, page 30, MS. No. 5 (b) Kabir uses the word *Baba* more than once for his imaginary hearer, *K. G.*, page 148. The names of the *Aughar* section of Jogis end in Das. *T.C.C.P.*, p. 250.

pared with Baba Farid and Baba Nanak. Namdev calls the Lord by the appellation *Baba Bithal* (*P. U. L. MS.* No. 1960, folio 267/1). In the *Orissa Gazetteer*, we are told, p. 94, that amongst the public works left by rulers of Orissa after 1277, is the bridge at the entrance of Pooree called the *Athara Nala*, said to have been built about 1300 by Raja Kabir Narsinh Deo. That is the only Hindu instance known so far. There is no justification for the suffix 'Das' after Kabir; *Das* means servant, slave, and this is used by Kabir's predecessors, contemporaries and successors, Namdev, Ravidas, Dadu, Nanak, in addressing God or in addressing the public, generally at the end of the hymn, either in close proximity to the author's name or at some distance from it. (*Vide Rag Ramkali*, 3/2, *Adi Granth*, page 899.) Nanak uses *Das* similarly (*Adi Granth*, page 811). Nanak says, I am the servant of servants. (Also see *A. G.*, page 612.) One may even trace *Das** to Buddhistic Asokan influence. Asoka called himself *Priya Dasa*.

As to his family life, manuscript No. 528, *P. U. L.*, composed in 1693 at Anandpur, the seat, then, of Guru Gobind Singh, and containing the biographical bits (*Parchian*) in verse of Kabir, Dhanna, Trilochan, Namdev, Jaidev, Ravidas, Balmik, Sukdev, Baddhak, Dhru, and Prahlad, does mention a wife, a son and a daughter of Kabir, and possibly a daughter-in-law also. Ananta Dasa's similar work, a copy of which is dated 1588 (*vide ante*, page 5) may also throw some light on the point.

The impression one gathers from those two MSS. as well as from certain lines of his in the *Adi Granth* is that Kabir was married early as is usual with the low-classes, be they Hindu or Muhammadan, and that as a married man he met members of several wandering Hindu and Muhammadan religious orders, came to have a new way of life of his own, and

*Several Canarese mystics or *Lingayats* also had the suffix *Das*.

that he then gave up family life, during the last 15 to 20 years of his earthly sojourn; in this last period was written almost all of his poetry,* no portions of which seem to be contemporaneous with the events mentioned in them and almost the whole of which seems to be an expression of emotion recollected in tranquillity after the physical or intellectual or literary causes of those emotions had ceased to operate on him†.

The words put in the mouths of others in Kabir's *Adi Granth* verses, are not reported speech : long after the event in some cases and in others, in a purely imaginative way, he composed, in verse, questions that others did put or might be imagined to put or be imagined to have been put, and remarks they did make, or might be imagined to make, or be imagined to have made, and then adds his answers. The same thing is true of Nanak's hymns wherein the questions and answers with Bharthri, Gorakh, Machhindra etc., occur. One is reminded inevitably of Namdev, of Landor's excellent "*Imaginary Conversations*," of Plato's *Dialogues of Socrates*, and of certain Buddhistic writings.

Loi‡ the alleged name of Kabir's wife means the world and Kabir clearly implies this meaning in one of his *Shabads*, (*Rag Asa* 5/8/21, *Adi Granth*, p. 446). It is a common Hindi

*E. R. E., page 633 : "It is probable that the first collection of Kabir's sayings was not compiled earlier than 50 years after his death." A *History of Hindi Literature*, Keay, page 24 : "Bijak is often said to have been compiled by Bhago Das about the year 1570. It was produced in connection with the Kabir Panth after the death of Kabir, probably as a book of instructions." *Kabir and his Followers*, Keay, page 56 : "The compiler may have been Bhagwan Das and the compilation perhaps was not made till somewhere about 1600."

† In K. G., page 44, Kabir says :

हम भी पांहन पूजते होते रन के रोभ
सतगुर की कृपा भई डारया सिर थैं बोभ

(K. G., p. 44.)

‡ On page 449, *Adi Granth*, the mother of Kabir says :—The name of my daughter-in-law is Dhanias, but these (or I) have re-named her as Ram Jania ; *Mundias*, *Bairagis* have darkened my home ; they have attached

and Hindu word and we cannot easily associate it with a low class Muslim woman. I refuse to accept this as the name of his wife.

The world is spoken of as a woman ; the feminine is used for it ; in Persian we have **पीर ज़ाल** or **ज़ालि पीर** (Pir zal or Zal-i-pir) and in Hinduism, Maya ; we have, again, in Sanskrit **तृलोकी** or **तृलोई** for the three worlds ; on page 807, *Adi Granth*, Kabir says,

Listen, O Loi, thou, without a Pir or a Guru.

In the *Adi Granth* he calls *Loi*, *Andhli* or blind. Namdev (*vide P. U. L.*, MS., No. 1960, folios 264/1 and 272/1) twice uses the word *Loi* in the sense of the world, in the feminine gender. The world or people dance before (man)-“made” (idols). O world (*Loi*), recite the name of *Ram*. *Loi* in the Afghan language signifies great, elder.

We accept Kamal* as the name of a son of Kabir. The published Gurmukhi biography of Kabir, p. 298, 2nd edition, Amritsar, gives Kabir two sons Kamal and Nihal, and two daughters, Kamali and Nihali, and adds that except Kamal all the others died in his life-time. Two *shabads* bearing the name of Kamal have been found by me. (*Vide MS.* No. 374, *P. U. L.*) Several more are to be found in S. S. The *Adi Granth shabad* on pages 806-807, has been interpreted to imply the presence of at least one daughter and two or more sons. There is mention of mother in the second *shabad* given on page 486, *Adi Granth*. I, however, would hesitate to interpret **माई** *Mai*, mother as my mother, as I have

my son to Ram and Ramana. Kabir replies, Listen, O my mother these *Mundias* have helped me to get rid of my (low) caste.

I must, however, add that all these references and the names seem to me to be allegorical and metaphorical, for *Dhan*, again, literally means a wife.

* Among the 10 *Pirs*, contemporary or already dead, Jayisi in his *Hindavi Padmavati*, begun in 1520 A. D., mentions one Shaikh Kamal (*vide Padmavati*, Naval Kishor Press, p. 10). In *S. H. L.*, Vol. I page 224, we are told that the date of the floruit of Kamal is 1450.

hesitated to accept wife above as my wife. Guru Nanak Dev calls Maya by the appellation of *Mai* (*Adi Granth*, p. 6.). He says : One is the mother and she has three sons, one *Sansari*, the worldly one ; one *Bhandari* the store-keeper, the generous giver ; one *Divan*-holder, the great one keeping court. Guru Arjan Dev (*Adi Granth*, p. 489) says, O *Mai* (meaning, woman or the world), we should attach our heart to the feet of the *Guru*. (p. 490) O *Mai*, whatever is to happen, is happening. He uses the word in the same sense again in *R. G.* on pp. 490, 492, 493, 661, 662, 1038, 1116, 1117 etc. The ninth Sikh Guru, Tegh Bahadur, has a similar use on pages 584, 585, 1101. Farid (*Adi Granth*, p. 1275) employs *Dhan* for the wife, signifying the human soul. Guru Nanak (*Adi Granth*, page 1087) says : O Pandit, just think over my statement that we should read of two mothers and two fathers.

In *Adi Granth*, *Rag Dhanasari*, *shabad* 4, Kabir puts it beyond doubt that by *Loi* he meant the world, the people. Kabir says, listen, O people, let none of you be misguided by ignorance ; if the name of *Ram* be in the heart, then whether it is *Kasi* or *Ukhar Maghar*, it matters little.

After evolving his own philosophy of life in his maturity, Kabir may be said to have ended his visits and discussions with all sorts of saints and to have accepted the *Shabad* doctrine in the main, becoming a sort of *Bairagi* observing *Ahinsa*, though minimizing any sort of renunciation of the world and any adoption of a saint's garb without a corresponding change in the mental outlook.

His alleged visit with Ravidas and Ramanand* to Pipa (b. 1349 and d. 1473, *vide* pages 523 and 526, *Bhagtan di Bani*

* There are some very interesting dates and statements in Farquhar (*O. R. L. I.*, pp. 323, 298-299, 331) :

" Several Vishnuite Bhagtas preceded Ramananda, the real leader of the movement, notably Namadeva and Trilochan from the Maratha country and Sadhna and Beni who belonged to the North. His royal

by Kaka Singh), mentioned in MS. No. 528, *P. U. L.*, and his co-discipleship with Ravidas of Ramanand, referred to in MS. No. 512, *H. U.*, copied out in 1711, are not accepted by us (*vide ante*, pp. 3 & 18), but we may at once agree to the statement that his visits to places outside Kasi must have started in the last quarter of his life when as a wandering *Sadhu* or *Sant* himself, he made the personal acquaintance of some persons and places that after his death were made the centres of Kabirolatory. All sorts of tales were woven round those persons and places, that, to give them credit and credentials, were glorified in one form or other, and were made to glorify Kabir still more through his conquest of them. During these visits he may have gone to Jagan Nath, Ratanpur etc., all of which, as has happened in the case of Ranjha, later came to lay claim to be his burial places. (*Vide K. T., Delhi*, p. 43; *Ain-i-Akbari*, Persian, Vol : II., pp. 393 and 433 ;

disciple Pipa was born in 1425, while another disciple, Kabir, seems to have lived from 1440 to 1518. It is clear that he was not Ramananda's latest diciple. Hence we shall not be far wrong if we suppose that Ramananda lived approximately from 1400 to 1470. Mr. Balesvar Prasad giees 1423 as Namdev's *floruit*. This chronology is finally established by one of Namdev's own abhangs, "Gone are the saints," *which makes it absolutely clear that Gnanesvara and his saintly companions lived long before him*. Namdev spent his life propagating *bhakti* in the Maratha country and in the Punjab.

"Another, Maratha singer, Trilochan by name, seems to have been a contemporary of Namdev, but very little is known about him." According to Farquhar's own way of deducing, implied in the words italicized, Kabir's references to Namdev, Jaidev and Gorakh are such as make it absolutely clear that they and their saintly companions had lived long before him and Raidas's and Mira's references to Kabir similarly show that Kabir, Sadhna, Sain, Dhanna had long pre-deceased them. Farquhar further says (pp. 328 and 309) : "Mira Bai became the wife of the heir-apparent to the Mewar, throne, but he died before the assassination of his father, the great Kumbha Rana, in 1469. She left Chittore and became a disciple of Raidas. She mentions him in three of her lyrics. My information comes from the place records of the Mewar family. I am greatly indebted to my friend the Rev. Dr. James Shepherd of Udaipur for ascertaining the actual facts. Much legend has gathered round her name. The approximate date of Sena's *floruit* is 1470, the same as that of Ravidas." Farquhar's dates about Ramanand, Namdev, Kabir and Miran Bai are, of course, wrong.

Dabistan-i-Mazahib, p. 167 and manuscript No. 193 Ba, P.P.L.) His literary references to Maghar (*Adi Granth*, p. 639) and Jagan Nath and Odissa, (Orissa), were exploited for the purpose. His alleged visit to Jaunpur has been utilized to glorify him by securing him an interview with Sikandar Lodi; but as we have seen, *vide ante*, page 26) there is not an iota of proof for that; beyond the statement of *Ain-i-Akbari* that he lived (or died) in the time of Sikandar Lodi. If he had been hauled up before Sikandar, he would certainly have met the same fate as the Brahman Bodhan met at Sikandar's hands in 1499 or thereabouts at Sambhal for similar religious propaganda as Kabir had carried out. As we know now, Kabir had died before Sikandar Lodi was even born.

Whatever stir Kabir created at Kasi and at places he may have visited in his last few years, it was not strange and deep enough to attract notice in his life time or even till a long while after his death. The contemporary biographer of Chaitanya (b. 1486, d. 1533), who visited Puri, Benares and Allahabad between 1511-1520, makes no mention at all of Kabir or a Kabir-panth. (*Vide* J. N. Sirkar's *Chaitanya and his Pilgrimages*, and *Chaitanya* by D. C. Sen.) It was after Kabir had been duly canonized and Kamal and Jamal etc., had ascended Kabir's *gaddi* and organized his *panth*, that Kabir's *Bani* and fame began to spread. To me surely the second half of the 16th century is the period of the formation of Kabir-*panth* and the indition of his real and spurious *bani*, and in this connection I rely most on Guru Amar Das's reference to Kabir and his poetry (*vide ante*, page 23). Guru Amar Das must have come to know of Kabir first as a Vaishnav Bhagat during the former's own early life as a Vaishnav when he used to visit Hardwar, on foot, year after year, doing it about 20 times. Later, when he ascended the *gaddi* of Guru Angad Dev in 1562, he, after a while, sent preachers of Sikhism to all the

known religious centres of India. He probably sent one to the area of Kabir's influence also. His emissaries, too, may have been instrumental in Guru Amar Das's acquisition of further knowledge about Kabir and his *Bani*, which he collected, and differed from in his own utterances.

Ramanand's *Dig Vijay* (Great Conquest) tradition is sought to be aped and repeated in the Kabir *goshts* (conversations) that have been coined without regard for the correctness of time and place. Thus Kabir's *goshts* both with Gorakh and Nanak (and Ramanand too) in which Kabir is seen to triumph over the others, are manufactured anachronisms ; if the Kabirites have been guilty of them, no less have been the Nanakites who have in a similar faked *gosht* made Kabir acknowledge Nanak as his *Guru*. (*Vide MS. No. P. 512, H. U.*) The Brahmans, thoroughly aristocratic and jealous of their age-old prestige, could never have deigned to enter into a discussion with the low-class Muhammadan weaver.

The *gosht* with Ramanand* like that with Nanak is meant to make Kabir show off and come out the better of the two : in fact a serious difference is shown to exist in their several beliefs and Kabir's view is made to emerge triumphant, and is finally accepted by his opponents.†

Gusain Ashtanand is another contrivance for making the connection between Ramanand, a Brahman, and Kabir, a low class Muslim, possible and look more decent through the intervention of a Brahman agent or mediator.

"A Muhammadan *faqir* named Jahan Gasht having heard of Kabir, went to see him.....so the *faqir* became a disciple of Kabir." (*K. & F.*, Keay, page 18 ; Keay does not give his source.) Jahan Gasht was the title of Sayyid Jalal-ud-din Bukhari, son of Shaikh Ahmad Kabir, known as Makhdum-i-Jahanian,

* *Vide P. U. L. MS. No. 2116.*

† *Vide Keay, Kabir and His Followers*, pages 115 and 116.

Jahangasht. The dates of Jahangasht are, birth 1307, and death 1383. Of course, the discipleship by Jahangasht of Kabir is an idolatrous fib of the Kabirolators and as with Nanak, so with Kabir, the famous dead saints were brought in, in the form of *Goshts*, to establish Kabir's superiority.

With regard to Kabir's alleged connection with Raja Bir Singh Dev* of Rewah State, I find absolutely no mention of Kabir or Kabirites in the *Rewah State Gazetteer*. Bir Singh Dev and his grandfather Bhira Dev were both contemporaries of Sikandar Lodi whose attack in 1485 on Rewah during the reign of Bhira Dev was faced by Bir Singh Dev at Khan Ghati. In my opinion Sikandar's fancied association with Kabir made Kabir's biographers drag in Bir Singh Dev. Otherwise, Kabir's real contemporary would be Bhira or Narhar Dev. (*Vide R.S.G.*, pp. 108, 109 and pp. 13-14). Narhar Dev immediately preceded Bhira Dev; now Bir Singh Dev is also spoken of as Nar Singh by Babur (*ibid*, p. 14); therefore, the later writers on Kabir would confuse Narhar, the predecessor of Bhira, with Bhira's successor. On page 10 of the aforesaid *Gazetteer* we have the statement, "About the 12th century the Chandellas, driven eastwards by the Muhammadans, expelled the Kalechuris from their Districts north of the Narbada," which gives us an idea about the date and extent of Muslim penetration into the area of Kabir's influence. On page 41, Kori is translated as Hindu weaver and Julaha as Muslim weaver and on page 43, Chhipi is rendered as the Hindu tailor. In the *Bilaspur District Gazetteer* we have a King Virasinghdeva who is said to have ascended the throne in 1407 A. D. and been succeeded by Kalmaldeva in 1426 (p. 36). Considering that

* Has this Bir Singh Dev to do with the Raja Bir Deva who built the city of Patan in Nepal, in the year 299 and was he not incorporated along with Gorakh into the biography of Kabir? *Vide I. A.*, Vol. VII, p. 89. Has not Bhaktapur, in Nepal, founded by Raja Anand Malla, A. D. 865, (later known as Bhatgaon) something to do with Bhagatpur in the Azamgarh District in U. P. where there exists a shrine of Ghazi Mian Salar and has not the word *Bhagat* or *Bhakta* its own tale to tell in connection with Gorakhnath?

this is the area wherein the Dharam Das section thrived and wherein one of the two *gaddis* of Kabir still runs, we must accept this Virsingh Deva as the real contemporary of Kabir, whose dates of birth and death as accepted by us receive immense support from the date of this Vir Singh Deva.

Kabir's meeting with Shaikh Taqi constructed out of an unauthenticated *shabad* of Kabir in the *Bijak* which contains the word Taqi need not engage us for long or seriously; some biographers of Kabir have seized upon it as a convenient explanation for his knowledge of Islam, orthodox and Sufistic. To me, firstly, the text is yet to be established; secondly, the name may be there only as a part of an imaginary conversation,* just as the names of Gorakh and Machhindra are there in Nanak. The whole problem of these *goshts* and names and allusions to events has to be properly studied and posed: if we only remember that the conversational style legacied as tradition down to that age by the age of the Upanishads and the Buddhist books and the Pauranas themselves it is which is responsible chiefly for the issues raised for settlement, then I am sure we cannot go wrong very far. The prose *Janam Sakhis* couched in the same question and answer, or direct reported-speech style and written during the 16th century illustrate the truth of our statement better. I am reminded here of an acute observation of Dr. Margoliouth (*vide Mohammedanism*, p. 66) which he makes while explaining the genesis of much of Muslim tradition respecting the Quranic utterances. The utterances preceded the framework of events into which they are later fit; the events are manufactured and their original justification is the loopholes provided to the commentators by some allusion to a person or place in

* Much of Kabir Literature manufactured to illustrate his doctrine is cast in the shape of questions and answers. Those books that set out to glorify him and to contrast him with his predecessors or successors are also couched in the same dialogic manner. *Vide*, Keay, Kabir Literature, in his "*Kabir and His Followers*."

the utterance itself or some personal association with a person or place historically true, and well-known. This is an Eastern phenomenon and one which has made almost every Eastern Saint or Hero suffer biographically. I cannot say if the West provides any large parallels, though the history of Christ and the early Christian saints does provide enough proof of the evidence and working of this phenomenon there in the West, also. If we accept the dates of Kabir as given above, this Taqi will have to be identified with the Shaikh Taqi or Shah Taqi who according to Beale in his *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (page 369) died between 1413 and 1421 and was buried at Jhusi in the District of Allahabad and according to the *Allahabad District Gazetteer*, was born in 1320 and died in 1384. The latter (page 246) gives his full name as Saiyyed Sadr-ul-Haq Taqi-ud-Din Muhammad Abul Akbar, son of Shaban-ul-Millat. We further read about Jhusi (pp. 245-246): "There is a well-known legend to the effect that the place was once called Harbhumpur or Harbongpur after the famous Raja Harbong.....the story ascribes his downfall and the destruction of the town to the intervention of the saint Gorakhnath and his teacher Machhandar." Has Jhusi or Harbongpur got anything to do with Haramba of Kabir? There is nothing unusual about Kabir's visit to Taqi for, as the author of *Dabistan* points out, Kabir in the first part of his life did go to many a Sadh, Pir, Shaikh, and Shahid, Hindu and Muslim, in search of the true Guru. A. A. mentions one Shaikh Taqi whose tomb lies in Karra Manakpur (p. 201). No date is given.

It may be added that one Bijli Khan appears in the biography of Chaitanya Deva also, as a great lover of religion. (*Vide Chaitanya* by D. C. Sen, page 283). But Bijli Khan, the adopted son of Pahar Khan of Ghazipur and Patna, who is said to have built the tomb of Kabir about 1450 (*Basti Dt. Gazetteer*, p. 226) should be taken as different from and earlier

than the one who became a disciple of Chaitanya, unless the biographers of Chaitanya made use of the first one, who was an admirer of Kabir. In view of the date we have accepted on the ground of the death of Kabir, we need not reject the tradition of Bijli Khan's construction of Kabir's tomb.

11. **Death.**—Let us not commit the popular, criminal folly of making bad history* out of good literature and special doctrine out of common conventional diction. As to the date of Kabir's death, he certainly was not alive when Anant Das, who according to *R. S. H. M.* for 1909-11 is said to have thrived in the second half of the 15th century, wrote of Kabir, when Sri Chaitanya visited Benares and Jagannath and when Ravidas sang of him and when Nanak allegedly wrote of him (*vide* below, No. 14). If one were to prepare a list of those saints and heroes who have been given a lease of life amounting to 120 years each, one would simply laugh at the simple faith of the average Eastern consumer of literary-cum-religious manufactures. I accept the period of 1420 to 1449† as containing the year

* How very necessary it is to be cautious in extracting personal history from literature will be illustrated by a reference to a *Shabad* of Kabir on page 793, *Adi Granth*, which hitherto incorrectly translated and interpreted has been taken as a conversation which actually occurred between Kabir and his mother. May not one ask from such interpreters, Why don't you, then, accept the existence of an elder brother and younger brother (or cousin) of Kabir's father for the mother is clearly heard to use the words *Jethani* and *Devrani*, and why don't you assert that Kabir's mother was also a poetess or that Kabir was in the habit of carefully versifying the chastisement he received in the direct reported speech style? Why don't you also maintain (as indeed is maintained in *Dabistan*) that every morning Kabir like a true Vaishnav Bairagi went to the river side and brought an unpolluted pitcher full of the sacred water and spent his whole morning in plastering afresh his seat and in reciting the *Mantar Ram Ram*, and telling the rosary giving up all weaving work. And how foolish and ridiculous both, for a chastiser of Kabir to remonstrate with him for renouncing his profession in favour of spiritual culture, when the chastiser fully acknowledges the worth of spiritual culture, by using the words: You are absorbed in enjoying the nectar of Hari?

† Macauliffe on the authority of *Bharat Khand Arvachinkosh, Marathi*, says that Kabir died in 1448, *vide* his *Sikh Religion*, Vol. IV, page 122.

of his death. As to the place of his death, firstly Maghar,* Jagannath and Ratanpur, all three claim his body† : secondly, the miracle of the disappearance of his† body has its own tale to tell : thirdly, the *shabads* containing a reference to Maghar‡ (about 60 to 70 *kos* from Benares) and the tradition that to die there was to be reborn as a donkey and to go to Hell, and included in the *Adi Granth*, constitute, manifestly a literary§ and religious comment on the ridiculousness of the said tradition and superstition and not Kabir's forecast of his death at Maghar||, nor of his willingness or determination to die

* Or Puri, *vide p. 95, Puri District Gazetteer*, 1908.

† In the *C. P. Gazetteer pp. 103-104*, we read : The Panka Deity is Kabir who is supposed to be God incarnate and is said to have appeared several times on earth, at least once during each cycle of man's history. During the present historic period he has only appeared once, about A. D. 1060 in the vicinity of the sacred city of Benares. Kabir himself is represented as having remained on earth from A. D. 1149 to 1449. In the *Basti Dt. Gazetteer*, page 225, we read : It contains the cenotaph shrine of the prophet, Kabir Shah. One story relates that in the course of his wanderings he came to Maghar and there apparently he died. His disciples disputed over the body : the quarrel was fruitless for though the Musalmans prevailed and buried the corpse, Kabir was still in flesh at Brindaban near Muttra. Thence he sent word bidding them open the grave and thus prove that there was no cause for dispute. They did so and found nought but a delectable fragrance. The traditional date for this event is 1274 and though Kabir did not really die till 1450 or thereabouts, his shrine was erected forthwith. Whatever be the true date of this original building matters little for it was replaced or restored by Nawab Fidai Khan, who garrisoned Maghar with an imperial force about 1567, though another account makes Bijli Khan the adopted son of Pahar Khan of Gazipur and Patna, the rebuilder of the edifice. The custody of the shrine, however, has remained from the first with a Julaha (Muslim) family. The grant (to the shrine) dates apparently from the days of Safdar Jang who visited the spot.

‡ Maghar is about 15 miles from Gorakhpur and about 85 from Ajudhia. Maghar is said to be the place of *Ganesh* : its other name in Kabir is Haramba,

§ Namdev has an exactly similar reference to the then existing belief about death in Benares or Benarasi as it was then known, *Vide S. V. A.*, page 119.

|| Compare the *Shabad* containing this (*Gauri*, 15) with *Gauri*, 30 and the alleged historical allusion will be found to be illusory.

there and thereby disprove the statement of the public and flout their wishes and persuasions to the contrary. In these and similar *shabads* he was trying to expose popular superstitions such as those pertaining to *Sutak*, *Juth*, *Sunnat*, *Pind* or *Pitar*, a Brahman or Turk birth etc. The various references to Maghar in the *Adi Granth* are on pp. 303, 304, 639, 1265-1266 and 312: *Rag Gauri*, 15, 55: *Rag Dhanasari* 3: *Salok*, 61.

The references to traditions attached to Kasi,* or Benares and Maghar, and Odissa† and Jagan Nath and to the mother, the father, two wives, one wife, the members of the family, a *be-pir-wife*, the husband, the Ganges, the manacles or fetters, the death‡, the madness, the education, the renunciation, are all metaphorical§ and imaginative. (*Vide A. G.* pp. 442, 444, 445, 303.) Any independent thinker could use this diction and ideology to criticize popular beliefs and superstitions and employ these metaphors and forms of address directed to an imaginary questioner and listener, for the purpose of expressing his own attitude towards thoughts and things, relations and ideals, superstitions and beliefs.

References to Benares are common among the mediæval Bhagats who mentioned it in connection with Brahman orthodoxy rampant and ruling there. Namdev has a reference to it and so has Ravidas. (*Vide Adi Granth*, pp. 808-809; and pp. 1198-1199.)

* In *K. G.*, page 145, *pada* 171, we read Kasi lies within our body (*kaya*.)

† *Adi Granth*, page 1249.

‡ Death in general, physical as well as spiritual, is the subject of many verses on pp. 303-305, *Adi Granth*, *Rag Gauri*. One of the *shabads* has alone been misinterpreted for the purposes of damning Benares.

§ Pandit Tara Singh in his Gurmukhi commentary on the poetry of the Bhagats in the *Adi Granth* takes this view and explains the alleged historical and autobiographical allusion. *Vide* his *B. B. S.*, pp. 338-345.

On one side are the Brahmans or the Bairagis who would not let Kabir go without a *Guru* and without a holy place of death and who, therefore, supply us with Ramanand and with Jagan Nath ; on the other are the Kabirites from non-Brahman castes who would make him reject every vestige of Brahmanism and run quite counter to Brahmanic practices and usages and who, therefore, would make him accept only the Lord as his *Guru* and, running cross to the desire of the first set, to win over as *Chelas* men like Gorakh Nath, Ramanand and Nanak, and further to make him die at Maghar or Haramba, the *bete-noir* of the Brahmans. And one may here as well ask, why should death at a few miles away from Kashi give one a rebirth as a donkey or send one straight to *Narak* (Hell)? Was it not because of the prominent and continued association of Maghar, an important centre and principality, with Buddhism, with Doms, low-class Sudras and with Musalmans amongst whom first came Julahas? *Bithala Natha* (S. H. L., Book II, pages 2 and 3) has written in prose, discourses on 84 and 252 Vaishnavas. He flourished in 1550. Vallabhacharja was born in 1478 and died in 1530 at Benares. He visited Gaya, Jagan Nath and the Deccan. Several *Bishanpadas* in the vernacular *Hindavi* are attributed to him. (S. H. L., Book II., pages 1-2.) He makes no mention of Kabir, so far as we know at present.

It is difficult to say where Kabir did die : I have no reason to find him a grave outside Maghar.

12. Disciples of Kabir, Kabir Panth* and Kabir Bani.

If the approximate date, 1619, of the installation of Dharam

* Sardar Gurbakhsh Singh in his *Gurmukhi Life of Namdev*, Vol. 3, page 55, says that the Kabir-Panth has twelve sects, Kabir, Mul Kabir, Sant Kabir, Ram Kabir, Das Kabir, Maula Kabir, Sahib Kabir, Guru Kabir, Babu Kabir, Sadhu Kabir, Nana Kabir and Kamal Kabir, and that the *shabads* containing the words Das Kabir may have been the composition of *Das Kabir* Kabirites. Isn't this division funny? Ridiculous indeed to have seized upon a title of Kabir used by himself or by others as nomenclature for sects. Nanakites have been similarly guilty (*vide* my *H. P. L.*, page 44.). A different list of the 12½ or 13 *Panths* of Kabir is given on p. 106, *B. M. D.*, Amritsar, 1926.

Das as Guru is correct as given by Keay and if his view is substantially true that the Kabir Panth owes a great deal for its development to him—"indeed next to Kabir he is almost certainly its most outstanding leader; Dharam Das is not only the reputed founder of the *Mai* section of the *Panth* at Chhatisgarh but he also figures very largely in the literature, a great deal of which is in the form of *supposed dialogues* between himself and Kabir," page 97, *K. and F.*—then my view that Kabir-Panth, and Kabir-Literature were organized and modelled definitely, and exactly and comprehensively on the model of the Sikh *Panth* after Guru Amar Das's 22 preachers had gone out between 1552 and 1574 in all parts of Northern India to preach and after Amritsar had been founded in 1574 A. D., after scholars like Bhai Gurdas had visited Agra, Benares, etc., must prevail. Keay's evidence is, of course, only one of the many proofs I have adduced in this work. *R. S. H. M.* for 1906-08, pp. 73-74 states that the *MS. Nirbhaigyan* bears the date 1576. It is an account of Kabir's life to his disciple Dharam Das.

As I shall not deal with the *Kabir-Panth* in these pages again, I may here dispose of one or two arguments based on Dharamdas's and Bhagodas's immediate discipleship of Kabir, found in *Kabir Granthavali* edited by Pandit Shyam Sunder Das of the *Nagari Pracharini Sabha*, Benares. Several statements of the learned Pandit are simply ridiculous and excite both our pity and laughter. Here are some :—

1. P. 20. Guru Nanak Dev has included in the *Adi Granth* numberless *Sakhis* and *Padas* of Kabir.

Nanak did nothing of the kind. The *Granth* was compiled by the fifth Guru, 66 years after Nanak's death, partly from the manuscripts left with his son by the third Sikh Guru, Amar Das, who came to the Sikh *Gaddi* in 1562 and died in 1574, and by Baba Mohan Mastan, a son of Guru Amar Das

II. P. 30. But many *padas* of Kamal have been included in the *Granth Sahib*.

Not one *pad* a of Kamla is there in the *Adi Granth*.

III. P. 21. Footnote. It is not improper to believe that Kabir's *Bani* uttered by 1504 was collected in this Manuscript and the *Bani* uttered after that till 1518 may have been drawn upon and included in the *Adi Granth*.

Who could have secured and brought that later *Bani* from personal contact with Kabir, who must have had with him a secretary to write down his *Bani* as he uttered it, which secretary later placed his record at the disposal of the Sikh Guru-visitor of Kabir ?

IV. P. 20. It is well-known that Dharam Das the chief disciple of Kabir had compiled an anthology of the *Bani* of Kabir in 1464.

After a long and careful analysis of all available records, the Rev. F. E. Keay, has come to the conclusion that Dharm Das lived about the end of the 16th century (*Vide K. and F.*, p. 99). The approximate date of installation to *gaddi* of Dharam Das,* given by Keay, is 1619.

Many quotations from the *Adi Granth* given by Pandit Das are wrong, mis-spelt and mis-worded.

V. The Pandit says that very few *Sakhis* and *Padas* of Kabir as given in the manuscript are to be found in the *Adi Granth* while the fact is that almost the whole (more than nine-tenths) of Kabir in the *Adi Granth* appears in his manuscript : at places both entirely tally and at places the *Adi Granth* version is the correcter and fuller of the two and less tampered with and the better arranged according to the heads and *Rags* etc.

* What would the Kabir-Panthis say to the following from A. G., about *Pan* to which they attach so much importance in the initiation ceremony ?

राज भोग अरु छत्र सिंघासन बहु सुंदर रमना
पान कपूर सुवासक चंदन अंति तऊ मरना

VI. The manuscript with Pandit Das, which bears the date 1504 and upon which he relies for some of his absurd inferences, is almost exactly the same as manuscript No. 1680 in the Panjab University Library, which contains the *Bani* of the following in the order given :—

<i>Author.</i>	<i>Work.</i>
Dadu	<i>Anubhai</i> *
Kabir	<i>Anubhai</i>
Namdev	<i>Anubhai</i>
Ravidas†	<i>Anubhai</i>
Haridas	
Baba Sunder Das	<i>Svayyas</i> etc.
Gopal Jan	<i>Barah Masa</i>
Maluk Das	<i>Sri Guru Maihnma.</i>

The number of Kabir's *Padas* under several *Rags* in Das's manuscript is larger than in the Panjab University Library manuscript.

The earliest poet included is Namdev and the latest is Baba Sundar Das, *Dadu-Panthi*, who is said to have been born in 1596 and died in 1689. (*Vide* Das's *H. H. P. S. V.*, Vol. I, p. 183.)

The noteworthy things about this Panjab University Library manuscript are :—

1. The *Bani* of Dadu has the place of honour.
2. The *Bani* of Dadu is arranged subject-wise.
3. Most of the headings under Dadu are the same as under Kabir : in fact those under Dadu are much larger in number.

* Compare this title *Anubhai* with Jnanadeva's *Anubhava Amrita*, as regards the title, vocabulary and diction, and as regards doctrine and arrangement of subjects and *Rags*. Kabir (*K. G.*, p. 139) says : O *Sants* we should sing those *Anubhai Padas*.

† *R. S. H. M.* for 1909-11, pp. 332-333, refers to MS. No. 240 as being *Raidas ki-Bani*. It is deposited with *N. P. S.*, Benares. The *M S.* contains 14 *Rags* and 82 *Padas*. Two other collections of *Raidas*, *Sakhi* and *Pada*, are mentioned to exist, on p. 7 of the same report.

4. The headings under Namdev and Ravidas are amongst those appearing under Dadu.

5. Baba Sundar Das was a well-equipped scholar and great lover of Panjabi and in proof thereof, we have in this collection his *Panjabi Bhakha Ashtak*.

6. The entire spelling and intonation of this manuscript is the same as that of the *Adi Granth*.

7. The *Bani* of Kabir as given in these two manuscript copies according to Pandit Das himself, is chockful of Panjabi words, pronunciations, phonetics, verb-forms etc. (*Vide* his *K. G.*, p. 6.)

8. If the *Bani* of Kabir as given in his and the *P. U. L.* manuscripts is reliable and authoritative why not the *Bani* of Namdev, Raidas and Dadu included in the *P. U. L. MS.*? In fact Namdev and Raidas as they appear in it do appear in the *Adi Granth* with inevitable differences of arrangement: several lines in both versions are exactly the same. Further several other *MSS.* listed in the various Reports on the search for Hindi *MSS.* agree with the *P. U. L. MS.*

9. The manuscript bears no date.

10. The caligraphy of both the manuscripts is extremely similar, modern, not older than one hundred to one hundred and fifty years.

The important things about Das's manuscript are :—

(a) The number of *Sakhis* in the body of the work is 809 and the number of *Angs* is 59* as is exactly the number in the Panjab University Library manuscript, but the figures given by the scribe at the close of Das's manuscript are 810 and 69 respectively.

* Compare these numbers with those given in Kabir *MS.* deposited with the A. S. B., Calcutta, which was copied out at Delhi in 1764 and which contains 59 *Angs* and 896 *Sakhis*. It also refers to Dadu's *Bani* which it must contain or must have contained; the numbers for Dadu are 34 *Angs*, 2634 *Sakhis* and 20 *Rags* and 445 *Savars*. Dadu's numbers in *P. U. L. MS.* No. 1960 are; *Angs* 37, *Sakhis* 2496; *Rags* 27; *Padas* 444.

(b) The date and the name of the scribe etc., comprising two lines at the end *are in an entirely different hand from that of the body of the work.*

(c) The *Sanyukt* or joint *letters in the body are different from those of the additional two lines.*

My conclusions which run counter to those of Pandit Das's are :—

(1) The additional lines containing date etc. in his *MS. Ka* contain a wrong, deceptive, lying date and are a very late affair, on the very face of them, on account of the most palpable difference in the nature, style and age of their own hand and of that of the body of the *MS.*

(2) The collection of *Bani* seems originally to have been the work of *Baba Sundar Das* or some one intimately connected with him. I would incline to the former view. There are *Ang* headings for the *Svayyas* under *Baba Sundar Das* also.

(3) The original copy of these manuscripts was prepared or preferably copied out after the death of *Baba Sundar Das*, say, about 1720 A. D.

(4) I believe there is much interpolation in the *Bani* of *Kabir* as given in these *MSS.* as could be verified by reference to the manuscripts of *Kabir* dated 1649 to be found in *Jodhpur State Library.*

(5) The *Panjabi* element in *Kabir* (as in *Raidas**, *Namdev* *Dadu* and *Sundar Das*) is to be explained, besides by the nature of the common literary language of *Bhagti* prevalent in those ages, by the kind of personal contacts, by the nationality of the interpolators and their love and knowledge of the *Sikh Gurus* (and their *Bani*) whom they wished to follow.

(6) A careful analysis of the *Bani* of *Namdev* in the *Panjab University Library* manuscript leaves no doubt that *Kabir's*

* *Raidas's Vanjarias* are unmistakably *Panjabi*, *vide P. U. L. MS. No. 1960.* On the basis of this poetical form *Raidas* formed a sect of *Vanjaras* and displayed the same mentality as shown by the *Kabirites.* *Vide, ante, p. 43.* *Nanak* has his *Vanjarias* too.

entire diction and ideology was derived from the stocks left full by Gorakh and Namdev, of the existence and greatness of both of whom Kabir was fully aware for he mentions Namdev in the most reverential terms.

Further Kabir thrived in the districts of Gorakhpur, Basti, Mirzapur where Gorakh's influence had prevailed for long and wherein a temple dedicated to Gorakh lay.

Kabir did have the full advantage of the knowledge of Namdev's *Bani*, particularly his *Anubhai* or *Anubhau* who from these verses comes out a far different *Bhagat* and leader than has been our lot to take him to be up to now. As stated before, both Kabir and Ramanand are stated by tradition to have visited Pandharpur.

(7) The subject-heads and the arrangement of *Bani* under them and under the *Rags*, are all the contribution of some *Dadu-Panthi* copying the order of the Sikh *Adi Granth* or of its precursors, the *bani* of Jaidev, *Namdev*, *Bajid* etc. The order of the *Adi Granth* itself was suggested in part by the MS. still found at Goindval, prepared under the 3rd Sikh Guru before 1574.

(8) The very second *Sakhi* or *Doha* in both the manuscripts, Das's *Ka* and the Panjab University's, is the one which has been included under Guru Nanak (1499-1538) *Asa-Di-Var* (A. G.). For Nanak's verses to reach the literary public in U.P. or Rajputana, it must require at least 50 years or so after they have been given duly written out and published to the Panjab, and this last happened in 1604, through their inclusion in the *Adi Granth*. Thus this particular anthology of Kabir could not have first come into being before 1604 or even later. This *Doha* or *Sakhi* does not appear in the two MS. anthologies of Kabir mentioned in *R.S.H.M.*, 1909-11, p. 221 and p. 229, at least as second, under the first head.

(9) * The arrangement of *Rags* in the *Adi Granth* and that in this Kabir collection are entered below for a comparison.

<i>Adi Granth</i>	Kabir (K.G.)	Kabir (P. U.L.MS.)
Siri	Siri	
Majh		
Gauri	Gauri	Gauri
Devgandhari		
Bihagra		
Vadhans		
Sorath		Sorath
Dhanasari	Dhanasari	Kedarau
Jaitsari		Maru
Todi		Todi
Bairari		
Tilang	Tilang	Bhairo
Suhi	Suhi	
Bilaval	Bilaval	Bilaval
Gaund	Gaund	Lalit
Ramkali	Ramkali	Mali Gaura
Nat Narain		
Mali Gaura		
Maru	Maru	Kalian.
Tukhari		
Kedara	Kedara	
Bhairo	Bhairo	
Basant	Basant	Basant†

* The farthest back I have been able to trace the *Rag* arrangement is in Jaidev's *Gita Govinda*. His ordering runs somewhat thus : (Asht-padi) Malav, Gujri, Basant, Ramkali : Gujri, Malav, Gond : Gujri, Karnat, Deshakh : Bairari : Gujri : Gond Najar Narayan : Basant, Gujri, Varari, Bhairair, Gujri Barari, Basant, Barari, Bibhas.

† Only *Rag Basant, Hindol*, occurs as a separate Chapter-heading in *Bijak*. (Vide Rev. Ahmad Shah's English rendering of the *Bijak*.) The word *Bijak* has been wrongly derived hitherto. It is to be traced to *Bij* or the *Mul Mantra*. The words *Bijak Sar* appear in one of the *Yoga* or *Binda Upanishads*. (Vide K. Narayanaswami, *Thirty Minor*

<i>Adi Granth</i>	Kabir	Kabir
Sarang	Sarang	Sarang
Malar		Malar
Kanra		
Kalian		
Prabhati (Arti)	Prabhati	Dhanasari
Jaijavanti		
Salok (or Sakhi)	Salok	Arti
		Suhi
		Ramkali.

(10) Dharam Das (who came to the *gaddi* in 1619-Keay) a chief organiser of the *Kabir-Panth*, came after Dadu (1544-1603) : if he were aware of the writings of Dadu, he could be held responsible, to some extent, for the classification of *Kabir-Bani* after the model partly of Dadu and partly of the *Granth*. Dadu mentions Namdev and Kabir. (*Vide* Sita Ram, *Selections from Hindi Literature*. Book IV.) *Works of*

(11) The Panjab University Library manuscript is more correct and comparatively less Panjabi-ish in spelling and phonetics, and, earlier, as judged from its fuller, and caligraphically and orthographically, older character.

(12) Das's manuscript appears to be only a part of a bigger anthology as the abbreviation कबी *kabi*, is written on the left margin indicative of the fact that these pages belong to one author and others before or after, to another. The Panjab

Upanishads, Madras.) The word *Bijak* is also present in *Bodhisattva* Literature. According to R. B. Hira Lal (*R. S. H. M.*, 1929, p. 260) Kabir Dasa of Kasi composed his *Bijaka* about 1418. The *Adi Granth* order may, again, be compared with the order of the *Shabads* of Ravidas and Namdev as given in *P. U. L. MS. No. 1960*. The first list runs: Ramgari, Gauri, Banjarian, Asavari, Sorath, Bilaval, Bhairon, Todi, Gaund, Sarang, Kanra, Kedarau and Dhanasari. The second list reads; Todi, Gond, Sorath, Gauri, Mali Gauri, Asavari, Basant, Lalit, Bhairon, Kanrau, Khambaidri, Paraj, Kahan, Sarang, Dhanasari and Arti. It may be added that both Ravidas and Namdev, like Kabir as they appear in the *A. G.*, figure in the above mentioned *MS.* almost completely, with slight inevitable differences of phonetics and ordering of the lines.

University Library manuscript is similarly indicative ; it has the abbreviation क kab for Kabir.

(13) The entire collection of Dadu which comes first is called *Anubhai*, the collections of Kabir, Namdev and Raidas coming in order and arranged like that of Dadu are also called *Anubhais*.

(14) The earliest dated manuscripts of Kabir are those in the Jodhpur State Library (*Vide R. S. H. M., 1902*): they were copied out in 1649 A. D. It would be stated in the second volume of this book how far those manuscripts and these agree.

(15) The last composition in the Panjab University Library manuscript is by Maluk Das, being *Dohras* or *Sakhis*. The dates of Maluk Das according to Sita Ram are *b.* 1574 and *d.* 1682 and of Sundar Das *b.* 1596 and *d.* 1689. (*Vide Book IV, Selections from Hindi Literature, Calcutta.*)

(16) After I had written out the above and nearly completed this volume, I discovered that *Sakhis* No. 21 and No. 41 in both the *P. U. L. MS.* No. 1960 and in the *K. G.* under the head *Birha Kau Ang* were those of Farid, appearing in the *A. G.*, *pp.* 1277 and 1280, Nos. 36 and 103, the second of them having been commented upon in *Sakhi* No. 104 by Guru Amar Das (*d.* 1574). I cannot but consider my view as final and unchallengeable that the original copy of both these *MSS.* must have been made out after the *Adi Granth* had reached areas outside the Panjab about the end of the 17th century. The second *Sakhi* or *Shalok* is undoubtedly *Lahndi* in its grammar and phonetics and there is no mistake about it. Both the *Shaloks* have the word Farid in them. This discovery also dispels the doubt which had arisen in my mind about *Sakhi* 2 in those *MSS.* under the head *Gurdev Kau Ang* and I can now say that that Doha does belong to Guru Nanak as it appears in the *Adi Granth* and has been appropriated by the anthologizers of Kabir. Farid who lived

from 1173 to 1265 could not have been appropriated earlier by Kabir's anthologizers than the appearance of the *Adi Granth* in U. P. long after 1604 when the *Adi Granth* was completed. The three *Dohas* aforesaid read as under :—

K. G.

Kabir.

बिरहा बुरहा जिनि कहौ, विरहा है सुलतान ।
जिस घटि बिरह न संचरै, सो घट सदा मसान ॥२१॥
फाड़ि पटोला धज करों, कामलड़ी पहिराउं ।
जिहि जिहि भेषां हरि मिलै, सोइ सोइ भेष कराउं ॥४१॥
बलिहारी गुर आपणों छौं हाड़ो कै बार
जिनि मानिष तैं देवता कया करत न लागी बार ॥१॥

A. G.

Farid.

बिरहा बिरहा आखीऐ बिरहा तू सुलतान ।
फ़रीदा जितु तनि बिरहु न ऊपजै से तनु जाणु मसाणु ॥३६॥
फ़रीदा पाड़ि पटोला धज करी कंबलड़ी पहिरेउ ।
जिनी वेसी सहु मिलै सेई वेस करेउ ॥१०३॥

Guru Amar Das.

कांइ पटोला पाड़ती कंबलड़ी पहिरेइ ।
नानक घर ही बैठिआ सहु मिलै जो नीअति रासि करेइ ॥१०४॥

Guru Nānak.

बलिहारी गुर आपणे दिउहाड़ी सद वार ।
जिनि माणस ते देवते कीए करत न लागी वार ॥१॥

In *Kabir Parichaya*, Hindi prose, by Shiv Brat Lal, we read, on page 122, the following couplet of Kabir :

कोटिन चन्दा ऊगवें सूरज कोटि हज़ार ।
सत् गुरु मिलिया बाहरा, वैसे घोर आंधार ॥

This couplet really belongs to Guru Angad Dev (b. 1504 —d. 1552). It occurs as the second Salok in the *Asi-di-Var.*, A. G., p. 429.

In *K. G.* on *pp.* 84 and 12 *Sakhis* 2 and 10, the second of which has also been claimed for Khurso and the first for some one else than Kabir, we read :

कबीर भूलि बिगाड़ियां, तूं नां करि मैला चित ।
 साहिय गरया लोड़िये, नफर बिगाड़ै नित ॥२॥
 समंदर लागी आगि, नदियां जलि कोइला भई ।
 देखि कबीरा जागि, मंछी रुषां चढि गई ॥१०॥१२२॥

13. Development of Kabir's Biographical Tradition.

It would be interesting to make literal translations of relevant extracts from Anant Dass (1588), Gurdas (about 1600), *Dabistan* (about 1645 A.D.), *Prem Abodh* (1691) and manuscript No. 193 *Ba*, *P. P. L.* (about 1700), which will throw some light on the evolution and enlargening of the tradition about Kabir. Most of the statements in them are not accepted by us or have been accepted with full reservations. The traditions themselves will be found to have been constructed almost entirely round, or out of allegorical or metaphorical or conventional references in his *Bani* as given in the *Adi Granth* and as found in the *P. U. L. MS.* No. 1950.

14. Namdev,* Ramanand, Kabir and Nanak.

A few concluding words about Kabir, Namdev, Ramanand

* Keay says on page 45 of his *K. & F.*: One or two verses of Namdev and Raidas are included along with those of Kabir in the *Adi Granth*. This is incorrect. According to Frederic Pincott's calculation (*J. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVIII) the numbers of stanzas of Kabir, Namdev and Raidas, are 1146, 239 and 134 respectively. But then we have to remember that Kabir's total is swelled up by two-line *Dohras* or *Saloks* or *Sakhis*, by four-line *Satvaras*, by *Chauntisi*, by *Tiths* etc.; in point of full-fledged *shabads* or *padas* Namdev and Ravidas (73 & 41) run close to Kabir, whose total is 229 or 231 only.

An example of how absurdly easy it is to misinterpret simple and good poetry and make poor biography out of it is supplied by a couplet referred to on the same page by Keay. It runs (*Adi Granth*, page 1267):

कबीर सिख साखा बहुते कींए केसो कीओ न मीतु ।
 चाले थे हरि मिलन कउ बीचै अटकियो चीतु ॥

The word Kabir is prefixed to almost every *Shalok* or *Sakhi*: its literary value is patent while its biographical value is nil. The

and Nanak, which will elucidate further my thesis about Kabir, elaborated in the pages foregoing.

(a) R. G. Bhandarkar in his *Vaishnavism and Saivism* fixes upon 1299 or 1300 A. D. as the year of birth of *Ramanand* and A. D. 1411 of his death.

rest is a description of the condition of any man who has made in this world scores and scores of followers and friends but who has not tried to befriend the one really befriendable person, the Lord, *Keso*, with the result that he who had come out to this world to meet that very desirable friend *Hari*, has failed to achieve his object, by having involved his heart half-way, having given it away to others.

Out of these simple statements Trumpp and Macauliffe have deduced the existence of a large following of Kabir acknowledged by Kabir in his life-time. Instead of translating this—as a hundred others, similarly, Kabir-prefixed verses—by O Kabir, “the men of the world make.....” they have respectively rendered it, “By Kabir many disciples and friends were made”, and “Kabir hath made many disciples and followers”. How would they have relished our translating, e, g. (*Adi Granth*, page 1267) the 98th and 99th verses (*saloks*) in their own manner :

Kabir by preaching to others has got sand into his mouth : while he has been guarding others' possessions he has had his own home-farm eaten away.

Kabir says I will contrive to live in the company of the *Sadhu* and to eat the bark of *Jau* : what is to be, will be : I will never go in the company of the *Sakat* or the follower of *Shiv* or the *Saivites*.

Of course correctly, these verses have to be translated differently by beginning. “O Kabir : Those who.....” and “we or you should” *Sakat* will have also to be rendered not as a *Saivite* but as just an evil person, opposed to *Sadhu*, a good person. Later, however, *Sakat* was used to convey a *Saivite*, in Kabir Literature. In *Kabir Ji Maharaj ka Pahla Pustak* by Bhai Lahna Singh *Kabir-panthi*, Gujranwala, we read on page 180 : The Guru converted Kabir from *Sakath* to a *Vaisnav* and gave him *Sat Nama* for recitation.

The 101st, 105th and 106th *Saloks* (pp. 1267-1268, *Adi Granth*) would also provide a very ridiculous bit of biography to men of Macauliffe's or Trumpp's way of thinking.

Kabir says, you have not shaved your mind, why have you shaved off your head? Whatever has been done, the mind has done it ; in vain have you shaved the head.

Kabir says, the sins you had committed, you had concealed them under ; (but) when *Dharam Rae* (Heaven's Accountant) inquired, very easily (naturally) did they get revealed.

Kabir says, giving up the *Simran* (remembrance) of the name of *Hari*, you have reared up a big family ; (while) you were busy in duties, neither brother nor any other relation remained ; they died off one by one,

(b) According to Ranade (*Mysticism in Maharashtra*) Namdev's dates are 1270-1350.

(c) Sita Ram referring to some biographer says on page 165 of his *Selections from Hindi Literature*, Book IV, that Nanak visited Kurukshetra, Brindaban, and Benares, the birth-place of the renowned Kabir—then dead but not forgotten.

(d) Page 7 of the *report on the search for Hindi manuscripts* for 1909-10-11 says that Raidas flourished about 1450 A. D. In the same report there are extracts from a manuscript copy of the work of Raidas. The very first *Doha* or *Sakhi* in that is :—

हरि सा हीरा छाड़ करि करै आन की आस
ते नर जमपुर जांयेगे सति भाषै रैदास

This manuscript is undated. Now this *Doha* appears in the *Adi Granth*, page 1275. We read :

हरि सो हीरा छाड़ि कै करहि आन की आस ।
ते नर दोजक जाहिगे सति भाषै रविदास ॥

Considering this and the facts that several *shabads* of Namdev, Ravidas and practically all of Kabir in the *Adi Granth* appear with slight inevitable differences in the *Anubhais* of Namdev and Kabir in the *P. U. L. MS.* No. 1960 and in Das's *MS.* (Kabir alone) the authenticity of the *Adi Granth* texts gets established beyond doubt.

(e) Will the reader re-read the above in the light of the following evidence mostly from the *Adi Granth* ?

Jaidev	mentions	not one of the mediæval <i>Bhagats</i> . He, however, refers to Naths, Sidhs, Bairagis and Jogis.
Chand	mentions	Jaidev.
Namdev	mentions	Jaidev and Trilochan and Gorakh.
Kabir	mentions	Namdev and Jaidev and Gorakh*

* Kabir refers to Gorakh and Machhindra : He mentions *Sanghla* or *Sangladip*, and states that Gorakh became Immortal in the *Kaliyug*. (*Vide K. G.*, pp. 51, 99; *Bijak*, pp. 79, 100, 104, 137 140, 173, 188, 167, 174.)

Raidas	mentions	Namdev, Jaidev, Kabir, Tilochan, Sadhna and Sain. [Or according to 2 alleged verses, extra-Granth, Nama, Sain, Kabir, Tilochan, Ravidas, Dhanna and Ramanand.
Nanak	mentions	None.
Guru Amardas, 3rd Sikh Guru	mentions	Namdev, Kabir, Raidas, Tilochan and Dhanna.
Miranbai	mentions	Kabir and Raidas.

What else can we conclude but that Kabir was senior to Raidas and had died by 1450 ?

Here is serious provocation for those Orientalists who, one after the other, have kept the fiction afloat that Nanak was a follower of Kabir.

(a) The earliest mention of Kabir is in the writings of the 3rd Sikh Guru, Amar Das (*Adi Granth*, p. 63). Nanak, in the *Adi Granth*, makes no mention of him at all, though he does of Machhindra, Gorakh etc.

(b) Manuscript No. 512, *H. U.*, dated 1711 A. D. contains a *gosht* between Kabir and Nanak in which Kabir receives instruction from Nanak and accepts him as his real *Guru* adding that Ramanand was first his *Kinchat Guru*. The passage is a part of a whole work called *Pran Sangli* which was certainly in existence before 1604 and which was proclaimed to be an anthology of Nanak's poetry composed by him during his stay at *Sanghal Dvip* as a guest of Raja Shiv Nabh. The whole work is found in Bhai Banno's copy of the first copy of the *A. G.*, made between 1604 and 1605, at Mangat, District Gujrat, in the Panjab. It has been printed by Belvedere Press, Allahabad, having been edited in Hindi by Sant Sampuran Singh of Taran Taran. The same manus-

cript contains a *shabad* by Nanak in which occur the names of Kabir and Raidas, as if long dead, who are mentioned as the disciples of Ramanand *Guru Gosain*. At the end of the Panjabi *Siddh Gosht* copied out in that manuscript in the Persian script in the first year of Farrukh Shah's reign, at Sialkot by Jasvant Rae, there is a *Shabad* of Kabir followed by another of Nanak which is a commentary of the first, in contrast to that. (*Vide pp. 114-115 of my History of Panjabi Literature*, where the whole of the *gosht* between Kabir and Nanak is printed from the manuscript.)

(c) Manuscript No. 374, Panjab University Library, dated 1701 and manuscript No. 512 *H. U.*, dated 1711, both contain considerable *Bani* of Kabir. In the former, there are verses attributed to Nanak which state that Kabir, the follower of Ramanand had lived as a *Sant* and had long passed away ; his name occurs along with those of other *Bhagats*. The order is Namdev, Ravidas, Kabir, Dhanna. (*Vide my History of Panjabi Literature*, page 132, where the full *shabad* is given.)

Relying on the evidence that their own writings give, I shall place in chronological order Namdev, Ramanand, Kabir, Raidas and Nanak and maintain that both sorts of writings coming to existence in the later part of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, celebrating the *goshts* between Nanak, Gorakh, Kabir, Dharamdas, some favourable to one and some showing off the other, are fabrications by the *Panthais* or followers. If we condemn Kabirolators who would assert that Nanak was a disciple of Kabir, we would also reject a work like *Sri Kabir Ji, Jivan Virtant*, by Sardar Nihal Singh Suri, Lahore, 1917, Panjabi, Gurmukhi, who not content with repeating the assertions implied in the *H. U.* manuscript dated 1711, would make all the mediæval *Bhagats*, Namdev, Ramanand, Kabir, Raidas, Dhanna etc., to have met Guru

Nanak and to have become his disciples. Some of the proofs he adduces are very interesting. It may be recorded in passing that besides upon the lines found in *Pran Sangli*, the most important exposition of *Shabad Yoga* existing in the world, which is known to have been in existence about the end of the 16th century at the time of the compilation of the *Adi Granth*, Sardar Nihal Singh bases his conclusions on the similarity of words and ideas in Nanak on the one side, and the *Bhagats* on the other, and their comprehensive and all-inclusive existence in the first only. We shall see more of that in the volume on Kabir's doctrine and its sources and influences. *If Kabir lived out the 15th century and if Ravidas and Ramanand and Pipa were his contemporaries then we must accept the evidence of Pran Sangli in toto, which is very nearly our earliest available record, and accept all these Bhagats as the disciples of Nanak who in their later life effected the Shabadic change in them.* But then if these *Bhagats* had become Nanak's disciples, neither Guru Amar Das nor Bhai Gurdas nor the *Bhatts* would have remembered them in the strain in which they have done, nor would Nanak himself have referred to them as is seen in (b) and (c) above. If, conversely, Nanak had been a follower of Kabir, he would, also not have mentioned Kabir along with others in that strain.

Anent Namdev, I have come across a very significant statement in *A History of the Maratha People* by Kincaid and Parasnis, Vol. 1. On pp. 105 and 107 we read : "Eventually Vithoba's (the father of Jnanadeva or Dyanadeva) preceptor Ramanand* happened to go to Alandi. Alandi is a small town on the Zureyani River, about 12 miles

* In that case it would be very interesting to see how not merely the two streams of Kabir and Tulsidas issued from the fountain head of Ramanand but even how Maratha mysticism in a way could be traced to the same foundation. P. 9, M.M.

north of Poona Thus Pandharpur came to attract pious men of all castes. Kabir was actually a Musalman attracted from the north by the fame of Pandharpur." Let me, however, hasten to add that Ramanand's visit to south-India and his advice to a Raja who had deserted his Rani figures also in the story of Pipa, an alleged disciple of Ramanand. *Vide P. U. L. MS. No. 528, dated 1693.*

This further supports my view that Kabir was in any case fully conversant not only with the life and doctrines but also with some of the *bani* of Namdev, even if he did not actually visit Pandharpur. We have almost direct evidence in favour, from Kabir's *Bani* in the *Adi Granth* and the *K. G.* wherein he not only refers to the saintliness and leadership in the *Kali* (Yuga) of *Namdev* but also uses the epithet **Bithal*, (*Adi Granth*, p. 792), used only for the god at Pandharpur by Dnyaneshwar or Jnaneshwar and employs the Marathi form of verbs with the ending *ale*. (*Rag Ramkali, Ghar 2, Adi Granth*, p. 901.) Two more assertions have to be made : Raidas is claimed by the Marathi-speaking people; it is done in the *History of Maratha People* mentioned above, p. 10 ; his writings as found in the *Adi Granth* and in the Panjab University Library manuscript No. 1960 have the Marathi and Hindavi of Namdev, and *P. U. L. MS. No. 528*, dated 1693 refers to his association with that area, through its clubbing his name with Pipa of Gujrat and Mira of Rajputana. He is stated to have lived away from the Ganges with which his first miracle is connected. As against that are his own lines in the *Adi Granth* (*Vide p. 1199*) which tell of his family (maybe his ancestors) engaged in carrying animal carcasses round about Benares. Both Miranbai and Karmanbai

* *Vithal* has sometimes been treated as an *Avatara* of Buddha. P. 37, *Life of Namdev* in Gurmukhi by Gurbakhsh Singh.

In the MS. Ramanand is shown to be a much greater *sant* than a mere *Vaishnav* can claim to be. He is declared to be the *Guru* of Namdev also who accompanied Ramanand, Kabir and Raidas to Pipa's principality.

are said in the Panjab University Library manuscript No. 528 dated 1691 to have been his disciples, which we have rejected.

To me the very names of the earlier Bhagti leaders are significant: Gorakh Nath, Nivritti Nath, Eknath, Dhyan Dev or Gyan Dev, Nam Dev, Ram Anand, Kabir. Vajida (b. 1524) states that Raidas was a *Sudra* of Benares and a contemporary of Kabir. *P. P. L. MS.* No. 193 *Ba* also says that Raidas belonged to Benares; *P. U. L. MS.* No. 528, dated 1693 supports this.

15. Gorakh Nath.

Kabir, to me, was definitely influenced by the Buddhist Monks, and by the Maratha saint Namdev; now Namdev's debt to Jnanadeva is beyond doubt; both Kincaid and Ranade establish it. Jnanadeva was influenced by Nivrittinatha* and he in turn got his doctrine from Gahininatha, who got it from Gorakhnatha, the disciple of Machhandarnatha, the two last being mentioned by Nanak. Machhandarnatha obtained initiation from Adinatha or Jalandhar or Siva himself. Thus it would seem that Gorakhnath was a most important promulgator of the doctrine of Shabad which is the core or pivot of the *Bhagti* movement. I am convinced of it. Gorakh Nath has been claimed by the Panjab. I have been able to unearth from the Panjab University Library manuscript No. 374, dated 1804, two *Shabads* (being *Gatha* or conversations in *Sahaskriti-cum-Marathi* between Gorakh and Mainanvanti, mother of Gopi Chand, and between Gopi Chand and his mother), which are the prototype of all subsequent North-Indian *Hindavi* and *Sahaskriti Bani* or *Bishan padas* which contain much of the important esoteric, doctrinal vocabulary and ideology of the mediæval *Bhagats* or *Sants*. (*Vide* my *H. P. L.*, pp. 109, 129 and 130). That intinerant saint

*The whole of Shabdaic ideology and vocabulary and prosodic tradition is present in the alleged poetry of Nivritti Nath. *Vide* S. V.A., Marathi.

penetrated on the East to Bengal and Gorakhpur,* on the West to the Marathi area and on the North to Peshawar and beyond. Charpat Nath's† Bani also for the first time discovered by me from *H. U.* manuscript No. 512, dated 1711, contains the same doctrine and the same attitude towards all wandering sects, only in greater detail. Charpat‡ was one of the 14 Siddha followers of Gorakhnath. There are perfect echoes of Charpat in Kabir and other Bhagats. Gorakh's doctrine was partly *Bodhisattvic* and partly *Zoroastrian*. One has, therefore, to conclude that the *Shabad* doctrine was first effectively enunciated and popularized by Gorakh in the 11th or the 12th century and all the later *Bhagats* have only passed on the torch handed over to them. This would put Kabir and others in their proper place and would raise the Maratha Saints, particularly, the *Manbhau§* or *Mahanubhava* sect amongst them, to a high level as the influencing factors, along with Jaidev and the earliest Buddhist *Gana O Doha* writers of Bengal. The credit for writing in the vernacular should go to Gorakhnath, the Panjabi, and to Nivrittinath the Marathi saint. Gorakh Nath according to *R. S. H. M.* for 1909-11, p. 6, is the first Hindi prose-writer. He is usually placed in the 11th century, but this is not correct,|| if we take him to

* The Nepalese make Machhandra Nath the same as *Aryavalokitesvara-Padmapani Bodhisatva*. He is said to have lived in Nepal in the time of Raja Baredewa or Baladeva, about the fifth or sixth century. See Wright's *History of Nepal*, pp. 140-152 where a legend of *Padmapani-Aryavalokitesvara-Matsyendranatha* is given. Hodgson's *Essays* (Trubner's reprint), ii, p. 40.—An editorial footnote to an article on the *Kanpatas* of *Kachh* by D. P. Khakhar in *I. A.* Vol. 7, p. 47.

† A complete echo of Charpat's in the lines of Kabir is provided by Kabir, *Rag Gauri*, No. 18-2, *Adi Granth*, page 304.

‡ His name occurs in Nanak (*Adi Granth*, page 883).

§ Both for the *Mahanubhavas* and the *Naths*, see pp. 27-30, *Mysticism in Maharashtra*.

|| I would place Gorakh in the 12 century or even a little earlier in the 11th century (*J. R. A. S.*, *Ap.* 1932, pp. 340-341). Bhai Bala's Panjabi *Janam Sakhi* (Biography) of Nanak of which the *Goshts* (conversations) of Nanak at Mecca, Medina and Baghdad form a part and are found separately in *MS.* also, contains a reference to Khwaja

have really preceded Jnanadeva by three generations and if we accept the dates of Ramai Pandit and others in the Bengal who refer to him and to Hadi *Siddh. E. R. E.*, Vol. 6, pp. 329-336, puts him down as a Buddhist, who later turned a *Saivite*.

Muin-ud-din Chishti and his personal contact with a *Jogi* at Ajmer, *Vide Takzib-i-Qadiyani*, Urdu, by Sardar Amar Singh). Now Muin-ud-din, according to *Indian Islam* by Titus, p. 118 came to Ajmer in A. D. 1195 which became his permanent residence until his death in 1236. Indirect support is lent to the above by the following (I. I. p. 44) : One of his first converts (of Muin-ud-din Chishti at Ajmer) was a "Yogi, the spiritual preceptor of the Raja himself." Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam*, p. 281. Titus has obviously tried to deceive the public for his authority *H. I.*, Vol. 2, p. 548 does not support him it rather bears out the contention of the Panjabi *Janam Sakhi*. We read in *H. I.* as follows :—

After the death of Masud (Salar Sahu), Muzaffar Khan died also. The unbelievers drove his descendants from Ajmer and re-established their idols, and idolatry again reigned the land of India. Things remained in this state for 200 years ; but after that time that chief of holy men, the venerable Khwaja Muin-ud-Din of Chisht was.....That holy man reached Ajmer in the reign of Rai Pithaura. Through the power of his religious faith, he persuaded Ajipal *Jogi* who was Pithaura's spiritual guide to become his disciple. But the darkness of unbelief did not rise from the heart of Pithaura, who was a second Abu Jahl ; on the contrary, he even encouraged the followers of the holy Khwaja to evil practices, till the holy man uttered a curse against that unbeliever." Comment on this frank admission of failure is superfluous. Chishti at least four times mentions the order of Jogis in a disparaging tone, at one place clubbing them with the sacred thread-wearers, the idol-worshippers. (*Vide* Chishti's Persian prose work *Ganj-al-Asrar*, MS. No. P. C. IV 28, 933, P. U. L.). This reference seems to place Gorakh, the founder of the *Jogi* order, in the 11th century, if not even earlier beyond any pale of doubt.

On page 150 of the *Jaunpur District Gazetteer* we read in connection with Jaunpur under Pathan Sultans, particularly under Sikandar ; "The defenders of the Hindu faith were *Jogi* Jayapala, Palanatha *Pir* and Pandit Baladatta " This relates to the period before 1321 and is based on *Manaqab Darveshiya* by Sayyid Darvesh, still in MS.

The Gorakhnath temple at Gorakhpur was first demolished by Alla-ud-Din Khilji (*Vide R. S. H. M.*, 1902, pages 4-5). In *P. N. Q.*, for Jan., 1885, p. 56 we read : The *Kanphatta Jogis* though ignorant of letters can give numberless *slokas* by Gorakhnath and Puran Bhagat which it would be worth while collecting, as showing what their religion really is or whether *they represent what is left of Buddhism in the Panjab*, as I believe, or not, On page 63, the same author W. B. refers to Salvahana and Rasalu as Buddhist Kings. Although Gorakh is said to have been the son of Machhindra Nath and grandson of Adi Nath (*Vide S. B.*, page 3, Nivritti Nath), yet in the public mind the founding of the *Jogi* Panth has ever been associated with Gorakh.

I am not inclined to accept it. He was and ever remained a *Sant* or a *Buddhist Yogi*, (*Vide History of Bengali Language and Literature*,* D. C. Sen, pp. 29, 56, 57, 73), the teacher of *Nirbana Jog*, the goal of which *Pad Nirbana Jog*, was *Sunn Smadh* (or *Shunya Smadhi*) and which could be reached through first hearing the most rarified, spiritual music within us and then going beyond that. Shiv Brat Lal Varma himself a Shabadite, alive to-day clearly supports this view in his Urdu prose works of historical fiction, *Shahi Bhagatni* and *Shahi Jadugarni*. According to him Jalandhar Nath was the Guru of Matseyandra Nath who in turn was the Guru of Gorakhnath. The Shabad Doctrine was first taught by Shiva to Parbati; Parbati, however, had fallen asleep during the talk by Shiva and the teachings had been picked up by a parrot who later incarnated as Sukdev, the son of Veda Vyasa. Charan Das also looks upon Sukdev as the first Man-teacher of this doctrine. Like Gorakh, Jnanadev and Lal Dedh were also Shabadites. From Nivritti Nath and Raidas and Namdev to Tulsi Sahib (d. 1843) it is a long way off and yet all have talked of *Nirban* or *Nirvan*. I find the ideology of the Shabad Yoga to be present both in the later Upanishads and in the

Kabir says (*Adi Granth*, page 1076): The *Jogi* recites Gorakh, Gorakh; the *Hindu* utters, Ram, Ram. In *I.I.* pp. 44-45 we read: "In this part of India (Bihar and Bengal), Hinduism was not nearly so well organized and consolidated as in the northern, western and southern parts of the country. The inhabitants were under the influence of a crude form of Buddhism; and despised as they were by their proud Aryan rulers, who held them in disdain, they apparently welcomed the Muslim Missionaries gladly." Titus is here referring to the work of the Muslim Missionaries in U. P., Bihar and Bengal during the 12th and 13th centuries; these Muslim missionaries, he adds, followed in the wake of conquering armies. He particularly mentions Muhammad Bakhtyar Khilji who founded a Muslim Kingdom at the close of the 12th century with its headquarters at Gaur.

* Along with Gorakh is mentioned by Dr. D. C. Sen another Buddhist, *Hodi Siddha*. This *Hodi* is again claimed equally with Gorakh by the Panjab, wherein he is accepted to have been the contemporary and opponent of Risalu and the paramour of his wife, Kokilan, of Sialkot. (*Vide* pp. 844, 845, D. G. Risalu occurs in Nanak also, in the *Adi Granth*.)

Shaivite Tantras and in Zen Buddhism. The question whether the Shabad doctrine as a part of Shaivism was pre-Buddhistic and pre-Aryan or whether it was a development of the Bodhisattavic movement which was annexed and revised by low class pre-Aryan Shaivite Hindus will be answered in the third Volume of this work. In the Panjab, his birth province (*Vide The Sikhs*, by C. Rebsch Stulpuagel, pp. 3-11), Gorakh has always been known as *Guru Gorakh Nath*, a title which has never been applied to anyone after him except Nanak. Significantly enough, Nanak is the first person in North India who gets the title *Deva*, like the Sants of Maharashtra, Jnana *Deva* and Nama *Deva*, whose predecessors had had the title *Natha*. The successors to Gorakh's gaddi at the *Tilla* of Balnath or Bal Gudai—which place is mentioned by Nizam-ud-Din Auliya, 12th and 13th centuries; by Damodar, the 16th century author of *Hir* romance in verse; by the 17th century biographers of Nanak; by *Ain-i-Akbari*;* by Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad; by Farishta (*Vide H. I.*, Vol. 2, pp. 450-451); even by Alexander's historians, from the 5th century or so (*Vide Jhelum District Gazetteer*)—have been known as *Pirs* which is a Muhammadan title. This is rather curious. When did they first adopt the Muslim title *Pir* in place of *Guru*?† There is a still more curious coincidence. Keay (*K. and F.*, pp. 115-116) states that Pramodh Das, a successor to Kabir's gaddi at Chhattisgarh (Dharamdas section) was responsible for a work, *Gorakh Goshti or Gorakh Nath ki Goshti*, and was known as the *Guru Bala Pir*. The approximate date of his installation is given as 1719.

* Abul Fazl in his Persian *Ain-i-Akbari* also mentions *Gorakh Hatris*, a place devoted to Gorakh near modern Peshawar. There are *Gorakh Hatris* in Western India, also.

† Probably in the 10th or 11th century when Gorakh made some converts from Islam who took up abodes at *Maths* or *Hatris* and became founders of local *Gaddis* as *Pirs*, Muslim Jogis.

But then Ghazi Mian* is also known as *Bala Pir* in the Gorakhpur area†. He is also referred to in the *Dharma mangul* of Mayura Bhatta. It seems to me that Gorakhnath was fully aware of Islam, its spiritual, Sufistic benefits and its political and fanatical dangers, and of Zoroastrianism which

* " Sikandar Lodi abolished as an innovation, the annual procession of the spear of Masood Ghazi Salar to Behraij and prevented women from visiting places of pilgrimage "—*History of the Afghans*, translated by B. Dorn, Part I, p. 65. Kabir himself, on page 1077, A. G. says : (He) who has 70 *Sai Salars* or Generals of the army, 1½ lacs of *Paikambars* or prophets; 88 crores of *Shekhs* and 56 crores (Kots) *Khel Khasi*———. Ghazi Mian Salar Masud died in a battle in the year 1033, near Bahraich. I. I., p. 138.

† K. G., pp. 76,81,87,88,95,99 :—

" The Jugis are a low caste whose traditional occupation is weaving and who are looked down upon by their superiors in the social scale. Like other humble castes they lay claim to a high origin. According to one account they are the offspring of Brahman widows and ascetics, while others assert that they are descended from Goraksh-nath, who was an incarnation of Siva.....They were entirely excluded from the *Namghar*.....Kabir (one of the gods or demons of the Kachari tribe) lives in trees, kills cattle and men.....The *Doms* or, as they prefer to call themselves, *Nadiyals*, are the boating and fishing caste of Assam. The *Nadiyals* are probably descended from the aboriginal race of *Doms*, the ruins of whose forts are still to be seen in India. but migrated to Assam before the *Dom* caste had been assigned the degrading functions now performed by them in Bengal.....they account for the objectionable name *Dom* by saying that they were the last of the Assamese to be converted from Buddhism.....They rank very low in the social scale and are superior only to the *Brittial Baniya* or *Hari*. Their priests are said to be descended from a Brahman father and *Nadiyal* mother. The *Namasudras* are a boating and fishing caste, said by Manu to have sprung from the union of a Brahman woman with a *Sudra*, and therefore to be the lowest of the low. They are heartily despised by their Hindu neighbours, and a degraded Brahmin acts as their priest. A section of the *Chandals* has formed itself into a separate caste called *Hira*.

" Sankar Deb, the apostle of Vaishnavism in Assam, was born in 1449. He founded the Mahapurushia sect, the main tenets of which are the prohibition of idolatry, and sacrifice, disregard of caste and worship of God by hymns (*kirtan*) and prayers only. He was a vegetarian.....the Mahapurushias are accordingly allowed to eat the flesh of game, but not of domesticated animals.....They will accept a *Sudra* as a religious guide.....A special feature of Vaishnavim in Assam are the *gosains* or priests, and the *Sattras* in which they dwell. These *Sattras* are small communities, resembling in some respects the monasteries of mediæval Europe but with this important difference that celibacy is not invariably regarded as a requisite."

was fully represented in the Panjab and Sindh up to the 12th and 13th centuries (*Vide H. I.*, Vol. V, page 568, Ritter).

A deal of Persian and old Marathi vocabulary appears in the writings ascribed to Gorakh. Even the two *Shabads* I have unearthed contain evidence of that. This lends itself to the interpretation that his new cult was an attempt to reconcile later Buddhism and Sufism ; Gorakh's blend was taken up by Hinduism and mixed with Upanishdaism and Pauranism and called Bhagti. Some of the institutions of Buddhism like the Matth, the Sat Guru, the Sadhsang, the Bani were retained and others like idolatry were dropped in some of the Bhagti orders in the areas of Muslim dominance, emphasis having been shifted on to the inner significance of the exterior modes of worship and forms of *Bhekh*.

As I have yet to complete my researches into Gorakh, (the *Jogi* order said to have been founded by whom is mentioned by *Ibn Batuteh*, Lee, 1829) and Gorakh Literature, some of which is in Sanskrit, Bengali and Marathi, I am unable to be precise and final in all my deductions at present. Gorakh Nath was himself low-born ; according to the tradition in Kamrup he was a Julaha. *Vide K. G.*, p. 77. In the *A. G.*, p. 870, we read : गौरख पूत लुहारिपा बोलै, which may mean either of the two : Thus (spoke) Gorakh son of Luharipa or thus speaks (or spoke) Gorakh son of Luharipa or thus speaks (or spoke) Luharipa, son of Gorakh. A third interpretation, rather unlikely, may be based on *Put* being taken to signify not son, but only a disciple. From *Pran Sangli* an alleged composition of Nanak, we gather that Nanak met Gorakh on the former's way to Set-band Rameshvar (Ceylon). This lends support to the view that the *Nathas* thrived in the South also as they did in the Panjab. *Ibn Batuteh* refers to the existence of Jogis in Ceylon as well.

Respecting the origin of the Surat Shabad Doctrine another line of investigation strikes me, which I would ask my South Indian friends to explore, particularly by preparing a

glossary of the Saints. It is that Ramanand was not a mere *Bhagat* or a *Vaishnav* ; he was more, a *Shabadite* who had secured the doctrine from some one he calls the *Sat Guru*. (See *Adi Granth*, page 1109 and his *Ram Rachhia* in P. U. L. M. S. No. 374, pp. 9—12, dated 1804.) who in turn obtained it through a series of teachers, from the *Alvars* and *Adyars* or Shaivite or Buddhist mystics of the south in the 10th century, whose *prabandhas* seem to me to be the prototype of North-Indian *Shabads* or *Padas* or *Bishanpadas*.^{*} Someone has said that Ramanand it was, who gave the appellation *Avadhuta* to his followers ; this is incorrect for the word is as old as some of the *Yoga Upanishads* and Charpat Nath uses it as a technical term for a sectarian. Namdev also used *Audho* or *Avadhut*. An article I have seen in the *Aryan Path*, Bombay, for December 1933, fully bears me out regarding the *Alvars*† at least. This is what the writer, Narayanswami, says of Thiruvalluvar. Let us note how thoroughly Thiruvalluvar anticipates Kabir. “It is a tribute to the universality of the spirit of Kural that at various times different religions and sects, Jainism, Buddhism, Vaishnavism and Saivism have claimed the author as their own. It is difficult to determine any one religion that Thiruvalluvar specially favoured. In Kural there are echoes of the finest principles of various religions. We can only conclude that the book is

* This is if we accept that Ramanand came from the South. But in my opinion Sir George Greirson is right in maintaining that Ramanand was born in Prayaga (*Vide J. R. A. S.*, 1920, pp. 592—596). I would prefer to trace Ramanand's doctrine like Kabir's partly to the influence of the school of *Buddhists*, represented by Gorakh, and, partly, to that of Rama Nand's Guru, Raghavanand who, had come from South India. In any case South Indian influence is unchallenged and we must investigate its nature.

† “ Behind Matsyendranatha we have mythology but after Matsyendra we have history ; and it is evident that Jnanesvara belonged to that great line of the *Nathas* who like the *Alvars* in the Tamil country and the *Siddhas* in the Lingayat community, successfully laid the foundation of mysticism in Maharashtra through their great representative Jnanesvara.” *M. M.*, p. 19.

a *synthesis* and that when he wrote it his mind and vision had outgrown geographical and racial boundaries." He was a follower of the *Anand Yog* and a listener of the spiritual *Anahat* Music. I believe Sankaracharya knew of this *Shabad Yog* which had existed long before him ; he acknowledged its utility but he wanted us to transcend even this stage of *Shunya* or *Sahaj** *Smadhi*. (*Vide, ibid, Liberation according to Sankara* by J. W. Chubb, page 836.) I shall, later, have to find more place for the *Sahajia* cult also, which owed its origin to the *Vamachari* Buddhists and to trace its connection with the *Sant Mat*. The following two extracts will be found interesting in this connection :

" About 500 A. D. was imported into Buddhism the cult of *Yoga*.....In the 10th century A. D. Mahayanism developed into the Kalachakra cult, which introduced the doctrine of demoniac Buddhas and came to be known as Vajrayana or the Thunderbolt Vehicle and its followers were called the Vajracharyas. The later development of Vajrayana, into Nathism, Sahajiaism, Avadhutism, Chandalism and Domism are more magical than religious." (*Pp.* 155—156, *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVII, part I.) Guru Nanakdev during his wanderings twice met, once at Batala, District Gurdaspur, the Siddhs and Naths and Avadhuts, who displayed their Vajrayana magical effects to overawe the Guru. It is, therefore, to be concluded that even as late as the 15th century Shaivite-cum-Buddhistic cults flourished in the hilly parts of the Panjab and that Gorakh's cult was dominant among them. I have seen an inscription in the Peshawar Museum, of a Buddhist King who ruled not far from Rawalpindi, in the 12th century. For the prevalence of the worship of the lion or the Buddha in the West-Panjab and N. W. F. in the 11th century, I would refer to *H. I.*,

* One list of the *Panj Pirs* includes Ghazi Miyan, Pir Hathili sister's son of Ghazi Miyan, Parihar, Sahja Mai and Ajab Satar.—*I. I.*, p. 139. The word *Sahja* in *Sahja Mai* is very significant.

Vol. 2, page 465. I distinctly read *Shabadism* in Jaideva* of Bengal, who died about 1238 and in Ramai Pandit Doma (11th century). A glossary of *Shabad Yogic* terms found in Jaidev's *Shabad* in the *Adi Granth* and in his *Gita Govinda* as well as in his alleged Bengali poems will be given in the third volume of my book, which will give my final views on the *Shabad*.

15. Parallels in the legends of Saints.

In extricating history and fact from mythology and fiction piling round Kabir, I have emphasized parallels (of simile and metaphor) and common stuff and have drawn attention to the fact that his biographical accounts have been almost entirely vitiated by the inclusion of such parallels and common saintly traits and miracles with the object of making him out to be a small Buddha. The following extract from Keay supports my thesis. If you replace the Christ by Buddha and gospel by Buddhistic tradition and Kabir by any other mediæval saint, it will apply equally well, in other cases, e. g. to Namdev, to Ravidas, and to Dadu.

"In the legendary life of Kabir, there are many incidents which recall the gospel story—his miraculous birth of a virgin (his previous birth, too.—Mohan Singh) his temptation, his making of miracles (his horror of *Hinsa* also.—Mohan Singh) his *accusation before a ruler by his enemies*, his punishment by that ruler and his escape from the punishment amounting to a resurrection of the dead, and so on. It is quite possible that a desire to assimilate the life of Kabir to that of Christ has helped the growth of such legends."

I think that the Western mind used to the cold, "unholy" analysis of Folk and Religious tales and romances will much appreciate the following analysis which represents the Greatest

* *Mirabai* by S. S. Mehta, p. 99 : "The real light in Mira's heart was kindled by the torches of Jayadeva," P. 100. "So Mira's creed was greatly indebted to the highly musical songs of Jayadeva." P. 106,

Common Multiple of the earliest available post-death manipulated legends of the Mediæval Indian Bhagats, the parallels which the legends reveal being far too patent to occasion any great error in the analysis.

1. The saint now low-born has had a high previous birth or is an incarnation of one of the 30,000 immortals.

2. The mode of birth of the saint is unusual and attended with miracles.

3. The saint in his early life or childhood and adolescence begins to manifest his divine, saintly character by questioning rites and ceremonies, by poetizing over them and by suggesting in song his own different view, unsatisfied as he is with the existing order or current beliefs and practices.

4. In his youth the saint while carrying on the ordinary household duties meets with a *Guru* or the Lord Himself or any ordinary event or person in some unusual and striking manner and is initiated or awakened and begins from that moment to sing the great change come over him and his new Ideal or Discovery.

5. There is an air of uncommonness about the saint's family relationships, *e.g.*, his children are the outcome of a spiritual not an actual physical union with his wife or they are but spiritual waifs adopted. The wife (and the mother and the father) is at first a hindrance but later a great self-sacrificing helper of the saint; she will even sacrifice her chastity to carry out his principle of extreme hospitality at any cost, towards all.

6. The saint by his new message incurs the displeasure of men of his own position or caste, of those of other religions and of a big man, a ruler, who test him or chastise him, but he comes out of all those tests and chastisements unharmed and still more glorified through his divine powers. Often the saint wins through by virtue of his extraordinary hospitality, humility or humour.

7. After he has his greatness thus established, he goes out on an intellectual conquest of the known world and meets all

the great dead and contemporary saints whom in arguments and in trials of strength carried out through miracle-working spiritual powers he routs at all the known important centres of religious and temporal authority.

8. The saint has thereafter even a special audience with the Lord God.

9. The saint, then, acquires a large following out of whom he picks up favourites, usually 12, by test of service or faith, giving the latter his special instructions and esoteric knowledge so that they may continue his mission after him as through his own life time,

10. A very long lease of life, usually 120 or 300 years, is enjoyed by the saint.

11. After having established the Kingdom of Heaven on earth the saint disappears in an unusual manner, causing a wrangle among his disciples of different types, and goes back to the spiritual, immortal hierarchy.

12. The saint often reappears on earth to his favourite disciples or to a special devotee of his to guide or console.

13. The common stock of miracles worked by the saints contains among others, bringing the dead to life, not drowning in water, turning away the elephant from striking the saint himself, seeing God in Man's shape, making God do something man like, changing the face or direction of a building, making his own dead body disappear, covering any distance without physical motion and thus reaching anywhere up or down or away, commanding the limitless increase of supplies, transforming robbers or evil persons at once into good and noble ones, making the hand-mill turn automatically etc.

Discounting the miracles, uncommon and extraordinary events etc., we get the following residuary facts in the life of a saint ; the order, as given below, may differ in different cases but the central points will be found to remain the same

1. The saint has a low birth, according to the Brahman idea of lowness of caste.

2. He is brought up in the ordinary way; he gets some education; he marries, begets offspring and settles down earning his livelihood, all the while showing a special bent of mind and aptitude for religion and poetry and studying and commenting upon his surroundings with which he is not entirely satisfied.

3. Then something happens in the ordinary way to satisfy his ever-growing desire for spiritual instruction; the event may come while in his manhood he has gone out on travel for spiritual search, or on ordinary business or on pilgrimage or it may come while he is still staying on at home.

4. After the turning point in his life reached through the agency of God or the Guru or an event or a spectacle or sheer self-examination and study the saint entirely retires from active life or still carries on the duties of the house-holder but in a spirit of abstraction and self-withdrawal, devoting in either case his time and attention to poetical composition and oral instruction.

5. His singing and preaching of the new path often brings him into conflict with temporal or religious or tribal or caste authorities, just as it, contrariwise, as often secures him the sympathy, the patronage or the discipleship of the same. He, somehow, by his sincerity, tact, humility, charity and faith comes out triumphant from the conflict and adds to his prestige and finally establishes himself till he quietly passes behind the veil leaving his many disciples and admirers to wonder at his greatness. They may leave him at that or erect a whole structure of a new religion or sect or sept or literature upon him, making a god or godling of him in their own image and their own taste and liking, often bringing him up or down to the standards prevalent in their own clime and age, annexing

several legends from the lives of other saints to the biography of their own saint, giving him a great saint as his *Guru*, whom the saint himself, however, may not have met or mentioned.

6. During his life the saint may have come to believe in his own greatness and in Divine interestedness in him and so may have interpreted certain events and experiences as miracles or may actually have tried to exercise his esoteric powers and knowledge to perform certain unusual acts.

To persons like me whose credulity and scepticism have definite limits the above is the only way of understanding the life of a saint or a prophet.

16. Additional Notes.

The following additional notes based (1 to 41) on *K. G.* are given in further support of what has gone before :—

1. *Shri Rang*. In addition to *Bithula*, Kabir uses the name *Shri Rang* for the Lord (*p.* 89).

2. *Loi*. "The foolish world (*Loi*) does not recognize the (real) colour, in which colour every one is dyed." (*P.* 97).

3. *Siddh Ganeshvar*. Kabir refers to the Lord as *Siddh Ganeshvar* (*p.* 98).

4. *Guru*. "Kabir is your seeker ; there (resides) hidden my *Hari Guru* (the Lord who is my *Guru*)" (*P.* 98).

5. *Gorakh, Bharthri and Gopi Chand*. "Of that mind (man), very few know the secret : to some extent or for some time (alone) was *Sukhdev* absorbed in it. *Gorakh, Bharthri, Gopi Chand*, blended with mind or attaining to that mind, they are enjoying Bliss (*Anand*) (*p.* 99).

6. *Kabir, the Mad one*. "*Kabir Divana* (mad one) says, when once one becomes fearless, then nothing (evil) can happen to him." (*P.* 105).

7. *Kabir, the Faqir*. "Kabir says, I am the slave, the *Faqir* : (I tell you) O, brother, you should go your own way." (*P.* 106.)

8. Kabir is aware of the miracle associated with *Namdev* that the door of the temple out of which *Namdev* was ejected, turned to the south where and in which direction he was sitting after the ejection. (P. 127.) Cf. the turning of the face of the *Kaaba* at Mecca brought about by a miracle for the sake of *Nanak*.

9. *The Shabad Anahad as the World-Teacher*. "Where the *Anahad-Kingri* (horn), which is the world-teacher, blows, there in that long music does one's spirit get absorbed." (P. 137.)

10. *Guru*. "Knowledge (*Gyan*) is the *Guru*." (P. 139).

11. *Gorakhnath*. "The creeper of the Quality of *Ram* was known, O *Avdhu* (*Avadhuta*), to *Gorakhnath*." (P. 142.)

12. *Bani* (Poetry composed by an inspired teacher) as the *Guru* is recognised by Kabir. (P. 143, first two lines of *Pad* No. 166)

13. *Jihaj (the Ship) and the Sadhu*. Poor misguided folk who would interpret *Nanak's* meeting with *Sadhs* in his boyhood as his acceptance of their teachership and who would treat those *Sadhs* as the emissaries, or wandering missionary followers of Kabir, should get a rude shock to hear from Kabir the following which is just one of dozens of such instances: "This world is a huge, deep ocean ; who will take me up and carry me ashore ? The *Sadhu* is the steerer of the boat and the ship ; by his help the slave Kabir has landed (on the shore)." (P. 154.)

14. *Human Soul as Anand Jogi*. *Atma* (the human soul) is *Anand Jogi* ; he drinks the Great Elixir and enjoys the nectar. (P. 158.)

"He who guides or leads the congregation of the five, of that *Guru* I am the disciple." (*Ibid.*)

15. *Sat Guru within us*. "By searching the clay (our body which is made of clay), I attained to the *Sat Guru* who acquaint-

ted us somewhat with the Unknowable." (P. 172.) "The temple is made of clay (our body is the temple of the Lord); the lamp in it is of knowledge (*Gyan*).'" (*Ibid.*)

16. *Previous Birth*. "In the previous birth I was a *Banhman* (Brahman); my actions were mean and I was without *tapas* (penance); I missed the service of *Ram Dev* (the Lord); so they caught me and gave me birth as a *Julaha*." (P. 173, No. 250.) This *pad* or *shabad* appears in the A. G. but these lines (Nos. 5 and 6) read differently in the A. G. Obviously this is theory or presumption on the lines of the orthodox transmigrationist and not a statement of fact, though it provided a basis to all subsequent Kabirolators.

17. *Panj pirias*. Kabir, obviously, was aware of the existence of the *Panjpiria* sect of Benares, amongst the Muslims. He says: No one has known (of them) as residing in the mosque of the heart; the five *Pirs* are known to the Lord (*Bhagvan*). (P. 175.)

18. *Risalu*. Raja Risalu is the well-known Panjab Hero. Kabir, like Nanak after him, uses *Risalu* as the title of *Raja Ram* (the Lord) whom he is considering in the poem as the husband and himself as wife. (P. 180.)

19. *Narad and his Bhagti*. Kabir is fully aware of the *Bhagti* and the *Bhagti* teachings of Narad. (P. 183.)

20. *Kasi*. Another interesting allegorical use of the results of residence in or desertion of Kasi is provided by *Pad* No. 290. (Pp. 186-187.)

21. *Sakhi, Ramaini, Anbhai Pad*. These terms in their original signification and not in their secondary meanings as kinds of poetry, are found on pp. 186, 188 and 189.

22. *Bikram Bali, Bhoj, Bisal, Bharthri. Ujjain, Guru Gorakh*. All these occur on pp. 188-189. On page 189 we read: King Bharthri became a *Bairagi*. (Line 1.) He became a *Jogi*. (Line 4.) He gave up all pleasures and devoted

himself to the one Master (*Sahib-Lord*); his mind (attention) got attached to *Guru Gorakh*.

23. Kabir calls the Lord as *Jagnath*. (P. 190.)

24. *Mai* (*mother*). "When will He embrace me, O, mother, for whose sake I have taken this birth." (P. 191.)

25. A Sanskrit Scholar once took exception to Nanak's use of *Bhau* in *Nirbhau* and attributed this Panjabi phonetic form of the word to Nanak's perverted learning or his illiteracy. That the traditional vernacular form of the Sanskrit word *Bhai* was *Bhau* is borne out both by Namdev and by Kabir. Kabir uses this form in *Nirbhau* and *Bhaujal*, the ocean of fear. (P. 193).

26. *Chintamani*. Kabir calls God *Chintamani*. (P. 195.)

27. Kabir is trying to define or explain *the names of God*, of the great leaders and the great sects according to the peculiar virtues or qualities which go or should go with them correspondingly. After dealing with *Bishan*, *Gobind*, *Allah*, *Khuda*, *Karim*, he comes to *Gorakh*. "He is *Gorakh*, who realizes the manifest or revealed Knowledge (*Gyan Guru*)."
He then takes up *Mahadev*, *Siddh*, *Nath*, *Sadhu*, *Paikambar*, *Anant*, *Bhagvant*. (P. 199.)

28. The words *Tin Bar* (Three times) and *Chautha Pad* (Fourth stage, position or dimension) in *Shabad* No. 365 on page 210 make it absolutely certain that the whole event is allegorical, and not a real chapter in the life of Kabir himself. These three stages, common to the man of the world and the fourth one which belongs to the *Sant* form a special doctrine of the *Sant Mat*. Namdev has a similar use of the elephant metaphor, which may have come down from Buddhist literature. (P. 210.)

29. *Babu*. Writing the particular *Shabad* in the *Bihari* dialect Kabir uses the word *Babu*. (P. 213.)

30. *Low occupationers*. Kabir refers to the following low occupationers : *Kubhra* (potter); *Dhobi* (washerman) ; *Chamra*

(skinner); *Teli* (oil-presser); (rope-twister); *Naua* (barber); *Baddhak* (bird-catcher); *Badhi* (carpenter); *Banjara* (trader); (boatman). (P. 214.)

31. *Jains*. Kabir refers to *Jangams*, *Jogis*, *Jains* and *Bhagats*. (P. 223.)

32. *Turki Dharam and Buddhists*. "Much have I explored Islam" (*Turki Dharam*); "Great miracles are wrought by these *Bodhas*." P. 293. The word *Bodha* may also be interpreted as these intellectuals (of Islam).

33. *Buddhists, Jains, Saivites, and Charvakeans*. Kabir says; *Jains*, *Bodhs* and *Sakats*, *Sains*, *Charvakeans*, *Chaturangs*, all are without (the truth). (P. 240.)

34. *Kalals*. There is a reference to the caste *Kalal*; people become *Kalals*, he says. (*Ibid.*)

35. *Saunj*. The word *Saunj* occurs on page 240.

36. *Nirmala and Udasi* as adjectives as well as nouns are found in Kabir.

37. *Bhera* occurs on page 241.

38. *Gatha*. "There was *Nad* nor *Bind*, *Garath* nor *Gatha*". (P. 242.)

39. *Lord Himself as Guru and Himself as Disciple*. (P. 243.)

40. There are three important miracles wrought by the Lord to establish the greatness of *Namdev*: turning of the face of the temple-building, drinking of milk, and reviving the dead cow. All three are allegorical. Kabir has a veiled attack on those who would believe these as facts.

41. *Thakur*. The idol is called the *Thakur*. This word occurs in Kabir. (P. 244.) According to D. C. Sen (*H. B. L. and. L.*) the worshippers of *Thakur* were a Buddhist sect and the word was applied to the image of *Buddha*.

Note :—All the lines referred to above as existing in the K. G. are found in the P. U. L. M. S. No. 1960.

Several lines and readings found in the A.G. do not appear in the M.S. *Ka* of K. G. but appear in the M.S. *Kha*, also utilized in K.G.

17. Adi Granth. I was hitherto under the impression that the two *Pothis* in the charge of Sans Ram, son of Mohan Mastan, son of Guru Amar Das were the only written basis of compilation of the *Adi Granth* by Guru Arjan Dev. I now find from the *Gurmukhi Tavarikh-Khalsa*, Vol. II, pp. 724-725, footnotes, that in response to a general invitation issued by Guru Arjan Dev to the holders of MSS. containing the poetry of the previous four Sikh Gurus, one Bhai Bakhta, of Arora caste, belonging to Jalal Pur, in the *Pargana* of Hasan Abdal, produced a huge tome containing the *Bani* of the first four Sikh Gurus and much other poetry besides, which was duly used by Guru Arjan Dev, the said MS. having been finally returned to the owner. It is further stated that the MS. was a priceless heirloom in the family as it had been completed contemporaneously with the respective *Gurus* whose autographs were obtained. The signature of the first four *Gurus* were shown to the fifth *Guru* who gave his own signature. The signatures of the other, later *Gurus* are also said to be present in the MS. which was stated by Gyan Singh, the author of the *Tavarikh*, to be then in the custody of one Buta Singh *Pasari* of Rawalpindi. I hope in the second volume of the present work I shall be able to throw more light on the MS. Other useful information vouchsafed to us by Gyan Singh is as follows :

The second of the two *pothis* (the first being still at Goindval) referred to above was seen by Gyan Singh with a woman who lived in *Katra* Mahan Singh at Amritsar. The arrangement of the *Rags* in the two *pothis* is as under :

Ramkali, Sorath, Sarang, Malar,

Sri, Asa, Gauri, Vadhans, Kanra.

The *Bani* of the first four Sikh *Gurus* was contained in them, as also of Kabir, Tilochan, Nama and Ravidas. None of the twenty two *Vars* of the present edition of the *Adi Granth* appear in the *pothis*; *Pran Sangli* is included in the Bhai Banno's copy of the *Adi Granth*, now at Mangat in Gujrat District. In the first Kartarpur copy of the *Adi Granth* are to be found amongst other things, the nine *Dhuns* of Guru Har Govind, the work of Miranbai, Jamal, Ratang, Sanman, Musan, Ishar. Gorakh, Bharathri, Gopi Chand and 17 *Bhattis*. According to him Bhai Gurdas died in 1629, but according to G. S. R. he died in 1637. Gurdas had returned from Agra etc. to *Guru ka Chak* in 1580.

18. Bir Singh. Writing on the Chauhan King, Baijala Deva II of Patna State (*P. T. S. A. I. O. C.*, 1930, pp. 46 and 48), Mr. L. K. Pandya states that Vira Singh—Haihya prince, ruled from 1371 to 1407 A. D. Now there were matrimonial alliances between the royal houses of Patna and Ratanpur. Ratanpur was the seat of administration of Haihaya kings of Mahakosala, and was the old capital of Chhattisgarh.

K. T. mentions the grave of Kabir to lie in Ratanpur. Can this not be the Bir Singh connected with Ratanpur, whom we seek in connection with Kabir?

19. Bhagti Bhavati. P. U. L. M. S. No. 853 contains the following: *Hari Chand* by Dhyan Das; *Bhagti Bhavati* by Gyesanand, composed in 1552 A. D., who bows to Ramanand and Anantanand; *Pandav Gita* (Marathi); *Gun Chandrain* by Dhyan Das; *Dhru Charit* by Jan Gopal; *Kirpan Ka Ang* and *Gun Chau Bol* by Bajida; *Guru Granth Kundaliye* by Dhyan Das who bows to Kabir, Gorakh, Sukhdev, Datt, Mahadev, Bharthari, Ramanand, Raidas, Namdev, Pipa and says that *Govind* (the lord) is the *Guru*; *Narayan lila* by Madho Das and *Pipa Ji ki Katha* by Anant Das, which contains a mention of Ramanand, Kabir, Raidas. The MS. was made out in 1686 A. D.

20. DABISTAN. Dr. Jivaji Jamshedji Modi (*P.T.S.A.I. O. C.*, 1930, *p.* 37) doubts if *Dabistan* was entirely the work of Mohsin Fani. He says it may have been in part the work of Azar Kaiwan. His final opinion is that we should for the present say that the author of *Dabistan* is not known.

21. Dadu.

Dadu was not the follower of either Kabir, or of Kabir's son or disciple, Sheikh Kamal. By the way, Sheikh for a Julaha—born is out of question. There is no mention of Kamal either in P. U. L. MS. No. 1960 or in the *Dadu Bani* printed at Belvedere Press, Allahabad, based on another copy of the MS. With regard to *Sat Guru* or *Guru* himself as an institution, Dadu says *(P. U. L. MS. No. 1960, folio 45/1, *Sakhis* Nos. 103, 104 and 105) : —

O Dadu, who (is) the *Gur Dev* and which (is) the sect (*panth*) of Brahma, Bishan and Mahesh? You (O Lord) are the Master, Creator; You are to be called the Unknowable and Inscrutable. O Dadu, in which religion (was) Muhammad and on what path was Gabriel? As to their teacher (*Murshid* or *Pir*), (we) should name one *Allah* (God). O Dadu, the only thing in my mind is : whose were they all? The Unknowable (*Alakh*), the *Ilahi* (God) is the only *Jagat-Guru*, World-Teacher, *Guru* of the world; there is no other.

On page 92, *Sakhi* 6 of *Dadu Bani* (Belvedere Press, Allahabad) we read : O *Gobind*, O *Gosain*, you are my *Guru*.

Dadu like Kabir himself, believes in *Shabad* to be his *Guru*; all the three, *Shabad*, *Guru* or *Sadh* and *Ram* reside in our mind (man) and our body (*Kaya*).

Dadu does not at all refer to Kabir as a disciple would to his teacher. He casually mentions him as one of the many Saints or *Bhagats*. In one place he pities Kabir as one whose message this perverse world did not much heed. We read as follows : “ Poor Kabir has said things in many different ways to enlighten the people; but, O Dadu, such is this demented

world that it does not go with him.” (*Ibid*, page 151, *Sakhi* No. 116.) This *Sakhi* is found in the P. U. L. MS. also, on folio 47/2, No. 161.

“Whoever serves *Ram* becomes like him. Dadu is my name and like Kabir I utter similar *Sakhis*.” (P. U. L. MS. No. 1960, *Sakhi* No. 6, under the head *Sajivan Kau Ang*.)*

“Nama got absorbed in the Atam Ram (the Lord who resides in the human soul) and he was therefore made immortal (*Sajivan*). Kabir drank the nectar of the name of *Ram* which is *Rasain* and so he was made deathless. By uttering Ram Raidas became lost in *Ram*; and thus he attained to *Bhagvan* (the Lord). Dadu, too, became intoxicated with the *Rasain* of the name of *Ram*, and thus he became changeless and dyed in the colour of *Ram*.” (P. U. L. MS. No. 1960, *Rag Gauri*, *Shabad* No. 51.)

“Of this essence became intoxicated Namdev and Raidas. Kabir did not tire of drinking it; he still athirst of it.” (*Ibid*, No. 58.)

There is provided by Dadu very convincing and interesting support to our theory about the metaphorical or allegorical character of most of the reference in Kabir to persons, places and events, particularly the reference to Maghar. Dadu says:

“*Maya* is the *Maghar* (town), the fields, the donkey; never can there come about a good end (for those who are devoted to *Maya*); those who desire that God (*Devta*), they (alone) become like *Ram*.” P. U. L. MS. No. 356 copied out in 1785 contains the poetry of Dadu, *Sakhis* 2704, *Angs* 37 *Padas* 440 and *Rags* 27.

22. Gorakhnath and Kanphata Yogis. “A tradition current in N. E. Bengal (Rangpur Division) identifies the *Kanphatas* with Sankracharya’s disciples, who, having taken to drinking, were consequently disowned by their teacher. In the Tibetan tradition Gorakhnath is recorded as a Buddhist

*See page 15, ante, for the original Hindi.

MURAL PAINTING AT AMRITSAR



KABIR K
GURU NANAK DEV Centre
GURU GORAKH NATH Right of Guru Nanak Dev

thaumaturgus and his Yogis are accused of having passed from Buddhism to Saivism simply to please their heretic rulers and to gain political favours. *What* seems to be most likely, amidst the general confusion of the various accounts, is that the *Kanphata* sect came from the north of India where it was probably already in existence during the prevalence of Buddhism, but it grew to power only when the latter religion began to lose ground and Brahmanism to make its reconquest. It is possible that, while Buddhism prevailed, the Yogis could not help being in some way attracted into its sphere, and that Gorakhnath was the man who rallied them out from the ranks of the Buddhists and brought them into harmony with the philosophy of the Upanishads; and he was not much posterior to Sankara; at least he certainly acted under the influence of the Brahmanic renaissance."

E. R. E., Vol. 12, pp. 834-835.

Of *Gorakhibodh* the writer opines thus: "Yet there seems to be sufficient ground in it for concluding that the system here expounded is a combination of Saivism with the Yoga philosophy, and apparently closely related to the Saivism comprehended by Madhavacharya under the name of *Saiva*, though different from it. The close alliance of the Kanphata system to the Yoga both of Patanjali and of the Upanishads is visible from the prominent part given to the *Yoga pratis* as well as to the mystical theory of the circles in the body (*Chakra*, *Kausala*), arteries (*nala*), vital air (*pavana*), and breaths (*hamsa*).....From this it would seem that Gorakhnath too resorted to a symbolism of the kind found in many of the *Upanishads*, especially the later ones, to account for such metaphysical problems as cannot be solved by reason... One of the most important features of the doctrine of *Gorakhnath* is no doubt its universality, it being open to all castes and being not very particular in regard to food, in both respect bearing an analogy to the *Vaisnava* system of *Ramananda*.

“The affinity between the two systems is increased by the adoption of the same term *avadhuta* for the designation of their respective ascetics.....Of the present *Kanphatas* those who take to secular callings are mostly *money-lenders, weavers, cultivators, pedlars, or soldiers*. ... In some parts of India they live by singing *cyclic poems* or religious songs. They are generally believed to be soothsayers and sorcerers and to have the power of curing children and protecting them from the evil eye. *Marriage* is common among them.

“The characteristic of the western *Kanphatas* is *charity*; they make it a rule to distribute provisions twice every day, to any who ask for them.

“The *pir* or *abbot* is held in great honour by the *Rao* himself ...Both the *Yogis* and the *Pir* of *Dhinodar* are said to observe the strictest celibacy.

“In Gorakhpur, where Gorakhnath is said to be buried they worship besides *Bhairava*, a goddess called *Bala Sundari* which is probably another form of the *Tripura Sundari* of the *Saktas*. The most depraved of all the *Kanphatas* of India seem to be those of the hills, who are said to follow the ritual of the *Tantras* and to indulge in the orgies of the left-hand *Sakta* cult.’

In the P. U. L. there are two MSS. of Gorakhnath : 1. *Gorakh Bodh*, No. 2780, which, complete, contains 32 folios but from which 14 folios from the middle are missing. The beginning and the end are present. 2. *Rasa Kriya*, No. 2934, which is in *Marathi* and is a medical treatise. The two other works by Gorakhnath in Sanskrit, worthy of our attention, are the printed ones : 1. The *Gorakhsha Siddhanta Sangraha*, edited by Gopi Nath Kaviraj, Benares, 1925, who seems to have made a special study of *Nathism* and 2. The *Janam Marana Vichara* of Bhatta Vanadeva, which contains *Amaraugha Shasan* of Gorakh, Bombay, 1918. The Jodhpur State Library contains several works in MS. of

Gorakhnath, Machhindar Nath and Jalandhar Nath. *Dabistan* (p. 152) mentions *Gorakh Saugh* as one of the works of Gorakhnath.

After I had completed my monograph on Kabir, I came across the article in the *E. R. E.* on *Kanphate Yogis*. It is remarkable how the astute Western mind trained in research can often sense truth amidst a bewildering variety of fact and fiction and can draw correct inferences from little reliable material. Almost all my own independent deductions about the date of Gorakh, his *Shabadism*, his similarity to Madhavacharya's doctrines and his influence on all the later Bhagats find implied support from him. Another useful article on the *Kanphata Yogis* is by G. S. Leonard, *I. A.*, Vol. VII, pp. 298-300. The Sanskrit work *Hathyoga Pradipka* contains references to Gorakh who is stated to have been the eighth in succession to Adinatha. Baba Farid (1173--1265) also seems to mention *Yogis*, *A. G.*, p. 1277.

23. Gorakhnath, Gopi Chand, and Nathism. A very suggestive article on the legend of Raja Gopi Chand appears from the pen of Mr. G. C. Halder in *P. T. S. A. I. O. C.*, 1930, pp. 265--278. My own views of the facts and theories he has put forward will be given in the third volume of the present work.

24. Gurdas.

So far as the question of Nanak's *Guru* and the conception of *Sat Guru* in the House of Nanak is concerned, Gurdas whose poetical compositions were valued by the fifth Guru, the compiler of the *Adi Granth*, as the key to the Treasures of the *Granth* and who saw the spiritual rule of the Sikh Gurus, from the third to the sixth, must be accepted as the final authority on these and kindred points of *Gur Mantar*, Nanak's travels, his personal contests and the non-Panjabi Bhagatic tradition, for he had personally visited Agra and Benares and Kabul,

Gurdas says (*Var* 29, *Pauri* and again *Var* 29, *Pauri* 18) :—

Par-Brahm, Perfect Brahm, the Ancient Person, He is the Sat Guru. The world wanders in waters and on earth and land, and serves (futilely) *Devis* and *Devtas*. In the company of the *Sadhs* we have worshipped the Supporter of the *Bhagats*, who is *Guru* personified (*Guru Rup*), the Murara (*Murari*).

25. Guru Arjan Dev and Sat Guru and Sadh.

Guru Arjan Dev, the compiler of the *Adi Granth* in 1604, a contemporary of Dadu, says as follows about who is a *Sat Guru* and who is a *Sadh*.

His name is *Sat Guru* who knows the *Sat Purukh*, the True Person, the Lord. (P. 266.)

He is *Sat Guru* in whose heart (resides) the name of the *Hari*. (P. 267.)

His name is *Sadh* whose actions are pure (without impurity, *Nirmal*). (P. 275.)

26. **Gyaneshvari Kosh.** P. U. L. MS. No. 1875 made out in 1804 *Shaka* is a Glossary of *Gyaneshvari* which refers to words occurring in Gyandev and also found in *Vivek Sindhu*, *Amritanuhhava*, *Eknathi Bhagvata*, *Rukmanisvambara*, *Dasabodha* and *Tukarama Abhanga*.

27. Ibrahim Adham and Bajid or Bazid, the disciples of Ramanand.

One Bajid or Bazid, Afghan, is stated to have been a personal disciple of Ramanand. The reference occurs in two Persian MSS. in the P. U. L., No. Pf I 25, *Bhagat Mal* in prose by Naunit Ram Sahni of Khushab, Panjab, completed in 1113 A.H. or 1701 A.D. and No. Px, IVI 821, *Bhagat Mal* in verse by Amanat Ram of Lal Pur, composed after the defeat by Nadir Shah, of Ahmad Shah. Bazid was a trader; he met Ramanand and acquired the *Shabad* Doctrine from him, Ibrahim Adham was later given the title of *Sultan*; he

is referred to as a great (*Kalan*) *Darvesh*. An important find by me in this connection is the *Hindavi* poetry of *Bajid*, P. U. L. MS. No. 6382, containing folios 46 to 344, copied out in Hindi characters. It is incomplete at the end also.

On folios 119-131, 133, 138 there are references to Kabir, Raidas, Namdev, Sain. There is no mention of Ramanand. It is clear *Vajid*, too, has been dragged into the list of Ramanand's personal disciples, for on folio 311 we get the name of Jahangir Shah. This *Bajid* may be identified with Miyan Roshan Bayazid who according to *Dabistan* was born about 1524 A. D. and who wrote in Hindi as in Arabic, Persian and Afghani or Pashto.

28. Jogi Panths.

According to the *Rohtak District Gazetteer*, pp. 63-65, the 12 Panths of the *Jogis* are :—

Ai, Pagal, Ramal, Satnath, Bairag, Ganj Nath, Man Nath, Natesri, Dharm Nath, Kaplani, Ramke, Pan Panth. The word *Sadhu* is used both for *Bairagis*, who have *Asthals* and for *Jogis*, who reside in *Matths*.

According to *Raja Risalu, Gurmukhi*, by the late Bava Budh Singh, p. 38, the 12 disciples of Gorakhnath were :—

Sant Nath, Ram Nath, Sharanj Ji or Bhangar Nath, Dharam Nath, Bairag Nath, Garia Nath, Kaik Nath, Nag Nath, Gangai Nath, Dhaja Nath, Jalandhari Nath and Nimo Nath. He adds that in reality these are the founders of the 12 *Panths* of the *Jogis*. The *Jogis* of the *Jalandhar Panth* are known as *Pas* instead of *Naths*. This should be read in conjunction with the statement of Nanak, (*Vide A. G.*, page 870) that thus speaks *Lohari pa*, the son of Gorakh Nath.

Another and different list of the 12 *Panths* of the *Jogis* is given by *Dabistan*, p. 149. It says further on page 150 that according to the *Jogis* even the holy Prophet Muhammad was a disciple of Gorakhnath. On page 153 we read that

Avadhuts is the name of one of the two sects of *Sanyasis* who mention *Dattatraya* as the founder of their *Panth*. *Jahangir* was a great believer in *Chatropa Avadhut* to whom Abdul Rahim Khan Khanan used to bow (before whom Khan Khanan performed *Sijda*). The author of *Dabistan* also met Chatropa in 1623 A. D. Another list of the 12 panths is on p. 270, *B. M. D.*

29. Kabir and Ramanand and Pipa.

While at one place in the *Bhagat Mal* (Stanza 36), Kabir, Raidas, Dhanna, Sen, Pipa etc. are mentioned as disciples of Ramanand, in the detailed biographies later, stanzas 60 and 61, the author does not refer to the discipleship by Kabir and Raidas of Ramanand. In the case of Pipa alone, stanza 62, Ramanand *pad* is said to have been attained by Pipa. The account of Raidas in the *Bhagat Mal* preceeds that of Kabir. According to *B. B. S.* Pipa was born in 1349 and Ramanand had died in 1354. He was first a Saivite, a worshipper of *Bhavani*.

30. **Kabir Bijak.** P. U. L. MS. No. 3324, dated 1272 A. H. or 1855 A. D., is a copy of *Kabir Bijak* made in Chhapra. The details are : 84 *Ramainis*, 112 *Shabads*, 12 *Kaharas*, 12 *Vasants*, 2 *Belis* 1, *Viruhli*, 2 *Chachars*, 3 *Hindols*, *Chauntisi*, *Vipramatissi*, and 297 *Sakhis*. A comparison of this copy with others, particulars of the Rev. Ahmad Shah will follow in Vol. 2 of the present work. There are two other Kabir MSS. : 1. *Gosht* with *Gorakh* and *Gyana Tilak*, No. 2117 ; 2. *Akhshar Khand ki Ramaini* etc., No. 1174.

31. Namdev and Firoz Shah.

The *P. U. L. MS.* No Pf. I 25 of *Bhagat Mal* (Persian, verse) by Anant Ram, mentions Namdev as having been persecuted by Firoz Shah. The actual persecution I disbelieve, as I do in the case of Kabir. But the probable immediate contemporary of Namdev who could have been used appears to be

Firoz Shah Khilji Sultan who became the King of Delhi in 1282 and died in 1296. Firoz Shah Tughlak Sultan died in 1388, having ascended the throne of Delhi in 1351 while Namdev died in 1350. Firoz Shah Bahmani Sultan died in 1422.

32. Padam Nath, disciple of Kabir.

According to *Bhagat Mal* (stanza 68) Padam Nabh was an immediate disciple of Kabir. It also says (stanza 48) that Namdev like Tilochan was a pupil of Gyan Dev. Is not this Padam Nabh the same as mentioned in *Selections from classical Gujarati literature*, Vol. I, by E. J. S. Taraporvala, Calcutta, 1924, p. xvii, who flourished about 1456 A. D. ?

33. **Panjab Sadhs and Panjabi.** The question of the nature and extent of the influence of the Panjab and Panjabi on the poetry and doctrine of Kabir will be discussed in the subsequent volumes of the present work. But it would be relevant even here in the biographical part to state the inferences deducable from the very significant admissions of Pandit Syam Sundar Das, about Kabir. He says (*K. G.*, pp. 67, 68 and 69) :

“Although he has himself said that my tongue is *Purbi*, yet on his utterance the influence of Khari, Braj, Panjabi, Rajasthani, Arabic, Persian and countless other languages, is visible.....The cause of the mixed or polyglot nature of his language is that he had associated with the *Sadhs* and *Sants* of distant places, which naturally resulted in reception by his language, of influences from other Provincial vernaculars.”

“There are in Kabir not only many words of Panjabi, but several idioms also. On his phonetics also is visible the influence of Panjabi.”

.....“Or, which is also probable, that he may have deliberately used the words from the different Provincial vernaculars. Again, on account of the shortage of the word-store, whatsoever words of other vernaculars heard by him, came before his mind, he may have employed the same.”

Four points emerge from the above extracts. (1) Panjabi had acquired before Kabir *Santic*, *Bhagti* poetry which was strong, solid, attractive, impressive, and memorable enough to have influenced Kabir. (2). *Sants* and *Sadhs* from the Panjab used to go out to U. P. as far as Benares, Gorakhpur etc., carrying the Panjabi Bhagti songs of their own or of other Panjabis with them and some of them were associated with by Kabir who derived much doctrinal and verbal and phonetic impress from them. (3). In addition to (2) or in the alternative to (2) Kabir had come to the Panjab and through his impact with prominent Panjabi *Sadhs* and *Sants* here had acquired much of their ideas and vocabulary. (4) Both the main branches of Panjabi and two or three of the important kinds of Panjabi poetry had before Kabir developed fully and become rich and popular and imitation-worthy.

Now, may we ask who were those *Sadhs* or *Sants* of the Panjab and to what religion or wandering sect they belonged? And if Panjab *Sadhs* influenced Kabir, could they not have influenced Nanak as well, who in that case, would not have to be branded with the *discipleship of the Sadh emissaries of Kabir on a mission to convert or (reconvert) the Panjab?*

34. Rajan.

Rajan was the *nom-de-plume* for Hindi poetical composition of Sheikh Rizq Ullah, the eldest son of Sheikh Sa'd Ullah, grandfather of Abdul Haq, the author of *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar*. It was Rizq Ullah who had put the question of the religion of Kabir, the author of popular Bishanpadas to Sa'd Ullah who died in 1521. This "Rajan" wrote two works of *Hindavi Santic* poetry (*Vide A.A.*, pages 198-200) one of which is called *Jot Niranjan* and the name of the other I am not able to make out correctly. The title *Jot Niranjan* clearly indicates that it is the same *Niranjan* of the *Surat Shabad Yogis*, of *Nathism* as popularized first by Gorakhnath and, again, of the later Buddhists.

35. Ramanuja and Raghvanand. In *Doha* 29, *Bhagat Mal*, we are told that Ramanuj, Vishnusvami, Nimaditya and Madhukar were the four *Gurmukhs* or those who lived according to the *Guru's* instruction. In stanza 35 it is stated that Raghvanand settled down at Kashi and made (persons belonging to) all the four *Varanshram* (castes) grow steadfast in *Bhagti*.

In the presence of this statement how would the detractors of Ramanand and the boosters of Kabir feel about their statements about Ramanand's refusal to see Kabir, Kabir's ruse, Kabir's original doctrine of equality etc. It seems to me that stanzas 32, 33 and 34 contain germinally, in reference to the predecessors of Ramanand, just what has later been appropriated and utilised in the biography of Kabir, by Kabirolators, in the way of miracles associated with Kabir's birth etc. and in the way of his Doctrine.

36. Shah Madar and Gorakhnath.

In *Takzib-i-Qadiyani*, on page 109, there is a quotation from Bhai Bala's *Janam Sakhi* of Nanak ; therein occurs a line of poetry which says that Gorakh vanquished and made a *Jogi* of Madar who was a contemporary of Muin-ud-Din Chishti, who had come to India in the garb of a Hindu with or like Chishti and had settled down at Makanpur while Chishti had settled down at Ajmer. Now Madar according to Beale died in 1434. According to *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar* Madar was alleged to have been a contemporary of Qazi Shahab-ud-Din Daulatabadi, Shah Siraj Sokhta and Qadir Shah (*vide pp.* 188 and 189). Madar visited Kalpi, Jaunpur and Makanpur (in Qanauj) one after the other. According to Beale Qazi Shahab-ud-Din Daulatabadi died in 1437. The meeting of Madar and Gorakh is again an anachronism unless Madar's date is wrongly given by Beale. According to *Dabistan*, *p.* 179, Madar did meet *Jogis* but the name of none of them is given.

37. Sikandar.

Sultan Sikandar Lodhi was not a contemporary of Kabir. The only Sikandar who preceded him and who could have been used up in his biography to fulfil the need of a Royal persecutor of the Bhagat concerned, are Sikandar Shah Purbi of Bengal who died in 1367 and Sikandar, the famous persecutor of Hindus, well-known by his title of *But Shikan*, who died in 1416. Malik Sikandar Lodi, the Governor of Lahore, died in 1428.

38. Taqi, Jhusi, Manikpur, Jaunpur.

Although Pandit Das accepts the reference in Kabir to Taqi etc., he does not take the trouble of ascertaining whether or not his own most important MS. dated as early as A. D. 1504 contains the lines he quotes on page 27 of his *K.G.* The fact is that those lines found in *Bijak* are not found in both the MSS. of Pandit Das: not are they to be met with in *A.G.* or *P. U. L. MS. No. 1960*. They are like many other portions the fabrications of the Dharam Das sect. Both Taqi and Jahangasht had died before Kabir had lived through his boyhood; I should rather say even before he was born. And Bir Singh Dev, too, unless he was the one referred to in the *Bilaspur Dt. Gazetteer* came after Kabir had died. Sometime after the death of Bir Singh Dev when the Chhattisgarh branch was founded and organized the references to earlier important Hindu and Muslim persons (including Bijli Khan of Sri Chaitanya's biography, unless we take the first Bijli Khan who is said to have builded the tomb over Kabir's place of death in Maghar in 1450, different from the former) were included in the Bani manufactured and attributed to Kabir. Neither in *K. G.* nor in *A. G.* nor in the *P. U. L. MS. 1960* is there any reference to Bir Singh Dev or Jahangasht, or Manikpur.

39. Taqi, Kamal, and Bodhan, Budhan, or Buddhan.

A. A. says (*p.* 201) that Sheikh Taqi lived in Kara Manakpur ; (*p.* 205) that Sheikh Kalu or Sheikh Kamal was a great ascetic whose grave lies in Kara ; he was a follower and *Khalifa* of Sheikh Hissam-ud-Din Manakpuri ; and (*p.* 229) that Sheikh Budhan Shattari was descended of Sheikh Abdulla Shattari ; he lived and taught in the time of Sultan Sikandar (Lodi) ; Sheikh Rizq Ullah, the elder brother of the father of the author of A. A. met Sheikh Budhan and learnt from him the teachings about *zikr*. A. A. gives no dates about any of these three saints or *Sufis*. It may be that this Taqi is the same as mentioned as an older contemporary of Kabir, this Kamal is the same as the one spoken of as Kabir's son and successor, and this Budhan is the same as the Brahman Bodhan who is stated by Muslim historians to have been put to death under the orders of Sikandar for his having taught the essential goodness alike of all religions.

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ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA.

Page.

- 8 *Note 5.*—How the two traditions regarding Kabir's birth and parentage, that he was the illegitimate son of a Brahman widow and that he was the offspring of the union of a Brahman male and Julaha female arose will be made clear from an account of the Antyajas and outcastes, and of Vasudeva given on *pp.* 101 and 104 of Alberuni's *India*, Vol. I, Sachau.
- 15 Line 1. Read Jnanadeva for Namdev.
- 15 Regarding the Guru of Kabir and other *Sants*, the following from Dhyan Das will help to clarify the issues.

गुण ग्रन्थ कुंडलयौ

जन कबीर पद बंदि तूं दत गोरख सुषदेव
महादेव अर भरथरी जे लगा हरि सेव
जे लगा हरि सेव देव अवगति जिनि जान्यां
रामानंद रैदास नामदेव नांव पिछान्यां
पीपा भवन सराहि आस तजि अचत विचारै
महा पुरिष सिध साध बड़ा जोगी उरि धारै
अनंत कोटि जन ध्यान कहि गिनती गिनती न छेव
जन कबीर पग बंदि तु दत गोरख सुषदेव

(P.U.L MS. No. 853, copied out in 1674 A.D.)

ध्यान दास सोई सेइये कुछ जाकै बप न सरीर
जिहि तति लागरि उधरया नामा दास कबीर

(*Ibid*)

- 26 Lines 17—20 should read as below :
...concerned, Abul Fazl's (*Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II., *p.* 243, Persian, Naval Kishor) own sources should be the final authority for us. *Tarikh-i-Firoz-shahi* and *Zubdatut Tavarikh* make no mention whatsoever of Kabir.

- 27 The last footnote, lines 22-24, should be omitted.
- 56 (e) Sadhna should be added to those who are mentioned by Namdev in his poems.
- 76-77 Regarding Bharthri and his connection with Gorakhnath, it is to be noted that in the *R. S. H. M.* for 1902 there is mention of a *MS.* called Bharthri Gorakh Sanbad by (?) Hari Das Sadhu. Bharthri is said to have died in 651. Of his religion Keith (*Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 176-177) says : "It is also clear that Bharthri in the Shatakas is not a Buddhist though he like Buddhists arrives at counsel of freedom from desire and resignation, but a Shaiva of the Vedanta type. We may, of course, suppose that he was a courtier and a Shaiva and that in old age he became a Buddhist." Was then Gorakh really the *Guru* of Bharthri and the disciple of Machhandra and did all three flourish in the 6th and 7th centuries as the Nepalese tradition would have it? And, further, was Shabadism common to Shaivism, Vedanta and Buddhism?
- 81-82 *Note 21.* The original Hindi verses of Dadu are given below.

माया मगहर खेत खर सद गति कदे न होई
जे बंचै ते देवता राम सरीखे सोई

(p. 121.)

कबीर बिचारा कहि गया बहुत भांति समझाई
दादू दुनियां बावरी ताकै संगि न जाई

(p. 151.)

जे कोई सेबै राम कों तौ राम सरीखा होइ
दादू नाम कबीर ज्युँ साखी बोलै सोइ

(p. 224.)

राम बिमुख जग मरि मरि जाइ

जीवै संत रहै लयौ लाइ ॥ टेक ॥

लीन भये जे आतम रामा—सदा सजीवन कीये नामा

अमृत राम रसायण पीया—ता थैं अमर कबीरा कीया

राम राम कहि राम समाना—जन रैदास मिले भगवाना
 आदि अति केते कलि जागे—अमर भये अबिनासी लागे
 राम रसायन दादू माते—अबिचल भये राम रंग राते

(p. 22.)

इहि रस राते नामदेव पीपा अरु रैदास
 पिवत कबीरा न थक्या अजहूँ प्रेम पियास

(p. 25.)

89 Line 5. Read Padam Nabh and not Padam Nath.

91 The following note on Senapanthis (*E. R. E.*, Vol. II, p. 384, G. A. Grierson) should be treated as No. 35 A.

“**Senapanthis**—Their existence as a separate sect is due to the fact that Sena himself and his descendants exercised considerable influence as family *Gurus*, or religious preceptors, of the then Raja of Bandogarh, or Riwa, in Baghelkhand, and his successors. According to tradition, the Raja was Bir Singh, who reigned A. D. 1500—40. But Sena's teacher, Ramananda, flourished in the 14th century, and the alleged dates of master and pupil are therefore incompatible. Either Ramanand lived later than is supposed which is unlikely or else it was not Bir Singh, but some predecessor, to whom Sena acted as *guru*.”

The reader will see in the case of this sect, too, the same anxiety on the part of the sectarians to connect the outcaste Bhagat with the Brahman Guru Ramanand on the one hand and with the famous chief as the Bhagat's disciple, on the other. The facts are, however, otherwise.

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